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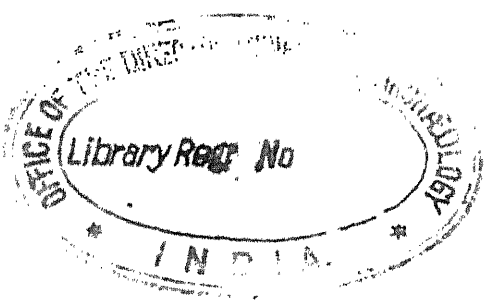

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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.,

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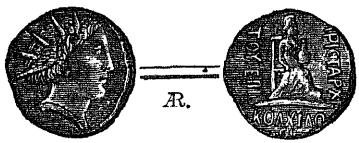
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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.



Æ.

I.

DRACHMS OF ARISTARCHOS, DYNAST OF COLCHIS.

THE first example of the drachm struck by Aristarchos, Dynast of Colchis, and which belonged to the collection of Mr. Borrell, at Smyrna, was published by Count Prokesch-Osten, in Gerhard's Denkmäler und Forschungen, Archæologische Zeitung, 7th year, 1849, p. 28.

Obv.—Radiated head of the king to the left.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΟΛΧΔΟΣ** (*sic*). The Phasis personified by a woman clothed in long garments, a Phrygian cap on her head, holding with the right hand a rudder, and with the left an urn placed on her knees. She is seated on a throne, to the right. In the exergue, **ΒΙ** (year 12). Æ 3½, 70 gr.

See also Catalogue of the Borrell Collection, London, 1852, p. 15, No. 126; "Mémoires de la Société impériale d'Archéologie de St. Pétersbourg," vi. p. 369; "Musée Kotchoubey, Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Numismatique des Colonies grecques en Russie," i. p. 430.

This coin was subsequently bought by General Fox, and passed with his whole collection into the Royal Cabinet of Coins at Berlin.

Another example of the Aristarchos drachm is also in

the rich collection of Greek coins belonging to H.E. Kabuli Pacha, ambassador of H.M. the Sultan at the Imperial Court of St. Petersburg.

The description of this drachm is as follows:

Obv.—Juvenile radiated head to the right.

Rev.—ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟ — ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ, and in the exergue ΚΟΛΧΙΔΟ — ΒΙ. A woman seated on a high-backed throne turned to the right, on her head the Phrygian cap. Her right hand reposes on an object, imperfectly defined (may be an oar or a rudder), while her left hand sustains a vase which is placed on her knees. Æ 3½, wt. 3·64 gr.

Dr. A. von Sallet, Assistant-Keeper of the Berlin Cabinet of Coins, informs me that on comparing the description of the drachm belonging to H.E. Kabuli Pacha with that of Berlin, he finds that the title ΒΑΣΛΕΩΣ (*sic*) said to be inscribed on this specimen is not legible, but that there exist traces of the words ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ, which are clearly discernible on the example in Kabuli Pacha's collection.

The only Colchian town of which coins are known was Dioskurias, which, according to tradition, was founded by the Dioscuri, of whom the *piloi* are represented on the obverse.[1]

The country was moreover inhabited by barbarous tribes, some of whom came down from the Caucasus. Of these Pliny mentions the *Ampreutæ*, the *Lazi*, the *Salæ* (surnamed *phthirophagi*, or lice-eaters), the *Suani*, *Sannigæ*, and others;[2] all of whom were governed by chiefs tributary to the king of Persia. In the army of Xerxes was also a body of Colchians, commanded by Pharan-

[1] "Musée Kotchoubey," i. p. 435.
[2] "Nat. Hist.," l. vi. 4.

dates, who, from his name, seems to have been a Persian. Pliny names also the kings *Salauces* and *Esubopes* as having discovered rich mines of gold, but he is ignorant of the epoch in which they lived.[3]

After the fall of the Persian Empire, Colchis seems to have enjoyed independence until its annexation to the empire of Mithradates the Great. After the second war between this king and the Romans, the Colchians and the Bosporians abandoned the cause of Mithradates, but the king having soon after arrived in person, defeated the Colchians, and obliged them to accept his son, named also Mithradates, as king. The young prince reigned, however, but a short time; for, having listened to pernicious advice, he threw off his fidelity towards his father, who seized him, and having had him loaded with golden chains, caused him to be put to death.[4]

Moarphernes, great-uncle to Strabo, was then appointed Governor of Colchis for Mithradates. He was succeeded, it is not known when, by a skeptuk (σκηπτοῦχος) named Olthakes, who commanded the Colchians in Mithradates' army. Defeated by Pompey in a great battle, in which he lost 42,000 men,[5] the king of Pontus retired to Colchis, and established his winter quarters at Dioskurias. There he formed fresh forces with the aid of the Scythian chiefs, inhabitants of the shores of the Mæotis and the Euxine. However, his troops, amongst whom were 50,000 horsemen,[6] were so badly disciplined that the king dared not encounter the Roman army, but took refuge with the Scythians on the approach of Pompey.

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[3] "Nat. Hist.," l. xxxiii., cap. iii. 15.
[4] Appian, "Bell. Mithrid.," 64.
[5] Sext. Rufus, "Brev.," cap. xvii.
[6] Appian, *loc. cit.* 119.

The Roman general, having invaded Colchis, made Olthakes prisoner and sent him to Rome.[7] He vanquished also Oroeses, king of the Albani. Olthakes was in the triumphal procession of Pompey. Rome had never witnessed so magnificent a spectacle; the victorious general riding in a triumphal car gemmed with precious stones, and drawn by four white horses along the Via Sacra to the Capitol. The hero was robed in a chlamys said to have belonged to Alexander the Great, and to have been found among the treasures of the Ptolemies entrusted to the care of the inhabitants of Cos, but which had been delivered up to Mithradates.

Olthakes is probably the same person called Oroeses by Dion,[7] and Orhoeses by Florus.[8]

After having modified the administration of Asia and having submitted it to rules, Pompey appointed as dynast of Colchis, Aristarchos, of whose extraction we have no information.

Appian says: Ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τετράρχας, Γαλλογραικῶν μὲν, οἱ νῦν εἰσι Γαλάται, Καππαδόκαις ὅμοροι, Δηϊόταρον καὶ ἑτέρους. Παφλαγονίας δὲ Ἄτταλον, καὶ Κόλχων Ἀρίσταρχον δυνάστην.[9] He made Deiotaros and others tetrarchs of the Gallo-Greeks now the Galati, neighbours of the Cappadocians. He gave Paphlagonia to Attalos, and named Aristarchos dynast of the Colchians.

Eutropius[10] and Sextus Rufus,[11] who lived long after Appian, mentioned Aristarchos as a king. However,

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[7] Dion, "Res. Rom.," cap. xxxvii. 4.

[8] "Epitome," cap. xl. 28.

[9] "Bell. Mithrid.," 114.

[10] "Brev.," cap. vi. 14, "Aristarchum Colchis regem imposuit."

[11] *Loc. cit.*, "Item Pompeius Bosporanis et Colchis Aris-

the two drachms prove in favour of Appian's more modified view.

On these coins, Aristarchos is described as Τοῦ ἐπὶ Κολχίδος. The traces of the two letters which are to be seen under the word **ΚΟΛΧΙΔΟC** cannot belong to the word **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, for on the Berlin example the letters **ΒΙ**, that is to say, the date 12, are quite legible.

Several other dynasts, among whom were those of Olba (Ciliciæ), bore this title on their coins.[12] But Aristarchos, dissatisfied, perhaps, with not having received the royal diadem, entitles himself *Aristarchos over Colchis.*

As a compensation, he had his portrait represented adorned with a radiated crown, like that of the Syrian kings. He was probably of Grecian extraction, and his bust is that of a young and handsome man. If Aristarchos occupied the throne of Colchis in the year 63, the drachms bearing the year **ΒΙ** (12) must have been coined in 52 or 51 B.C.

In the year 47 B.C., Pharnaces II., son of Mithradates the Great, reconquered Pontus and Colchis. No other mention is made of Aristarchos after that time, and we are reduced to conjecture that at this epoch he was dead, or perhaps escaped on the approach of Pharnaces II. After the death of Pharnaces II., killed in fight whilst flying after the lost battle at Zela,[13] Colchis became part of the kingdom of the Zenonidi: Polemon I., his wife Pythodoris, and Polemon II.[14]

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tarchum regem imposuit." Sextus Rufus is not exact, because Aristarchos was not king of the Bosporians, but only dynast of the Colchians.

[12] "Musée Kotchoubey," ii. p. 170.

[13] Ibid., p. 138.

[14] Ibid., p. 430.

We will now examine the types of the Aristarchos coinage.

On the head of the dynast is the radiated crown, consisting of nine rays, one in the centre and four on each side. Five of these rays are to be seen, whilst the circle of metal, or the *Tœnia* (Ταινία), on which the rays are fixed, is not visible. This might lead to the conjecture that the head does not represent the dynast, but is rather that of Apollo Helios, as represented on the Rhodian coinage.

The radiated crown is found for the first time in connection with a mortal being on some of the coins of king Antiochos IV. of Syria, and is connected with the title Θεός ἐπιφάνης νικηφόρος, "visible and victorious god," that this king had assumed.[15]

The first king of Syria, who in his madness had himself called Θεός, was Antiochos II. According to Eusebios, he ascribed to himself this title by his own authority; but Appian asserts that it was conferred on him by the Milesians, as a token of their gratitude, the king having delivered them from their tyrant Timarchos.[16] At all events Antiochos was not represented with the radiated crown. It is to be remarked that the figure of Apollo, which is generally used as the type of Syrian money, is not radiated. The god of the royal title was evidently not this Apollo, but the god of light, Apollo Helios, the Sol of the Romans. The Θεός ἐπιφάνης was thus compared with the sun, whose brilliant rays he assumed. Among the ancient monuments, not only Helios, Sol, but also other divinities of light, such as Artemis, and Pan Phos-

[15] Eckhel, "Doct.," n. v. iii. p. 217.
[16] Visconti, "Iconographie grecque," ii. p. 397 (éd. de Milan).

phoros, are represented with radiated heads. For instance, on an Apulian vase of the Blacas Collection, as on other vases,[17] Helios is painted radiated and standing in a quadriga. A vase discovered at Canosa shows us Helios and Eos both on quadrigas, preceded by Phosphoros, all having radiated heads.[18] There exists in the National Library at Paris a bronze statuette of Helios, or Sol, represented with seven rays around his head.[19] In the case of coins, the type of the radiated sun is chiefly to be found on those which were stamped at Rhodos. At a later period, the same type appears on Roman coins, as, for instance, on the denarii of the Aquillia family.

Sol invictus is represented on the imperial coins, either clothed or unclothed, with a radiated head and a globe in his hand. But he is seldom represented standing in a quadriga.[20]

Antiochos IV. was the first amongst the Syrian kings whose money was stamped with his head adorned with a radiated crown. The visible rays were sometimes four, sometimes five.[21]

Several other Syrian kings, even among those who had not claimed the title of "god," bear on their coins crowns more or less radiated.[22]

The example given by the Syrian kings was followed by

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[17] Gerhard, "Lichtgottheiten," Pl. I. and III.

[18] Ibid., Pl. III.

[19] Clarac, "Musée de Sculpture," Pl. 474, ib. 929. See also Müller, "Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst," 3rd ed., p. 648.

[20] Cohen, "Méd. romaines" (Constantius I.), vi. Pl. IV., No. 482.

[21] Imhoof-Blumer, "Choix de Monnaies grecques," Pl. VIII., Nos. 218, 219. Visconti, "Iconographie grecque, ii. Pl. XX., No. 1.

[22] Visconti, "Iconographie grecque," ii. Pl. XXI., No. 8.

the Ptolemies, who also assumed the title of "god," with the radiated diadem. The first among these was Ptolemy V., brother-in-law to Antiochos IV. of Syria. On the day of his solemn coronation, in the ninth year of his reign, he claimed the pompous title of Θεός ἐπιφάνης εὐχάριστος, "god present and propitious." The crown he adopted on this occasion is probably the same as that which is to be seen on the large golden coin under his reign, and which is composed, alternately, of rays in the shape of graceful and delicately formed leaves, and others formed of pearls and precious stones.[23] The crowns of Ptolemy VIII., who entitled himself Θεός σώτηρ, "the saviour-god," were much simpler, one being formed of rays slightly curved, and another of vertical rays.[24]

Philip Andriskos, the pseudo-son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, had a similar radiated diadem represented on a coin.[25]

With the Romans, the radiated diadem was used at first as an emblem of apotheosis. It is to be seen, for instance, on some of Augustus' coins, stamped after his death. An aureus under Nero bears on its reverse Augustus and Livia, both with radiated heads. The radiated crown, however, soon lost its first signification, the Emperor Nero having had his radiated head engraved on his middle brass coins. It was no longer the sign of a deified sovereign, but a diadem like any other.

Let us now examine the *reverse* of the Aristarchos drachm, and its characteristics.

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[23] Visconti, "Iconographie grecque," iii., Pl. XIV. No. 1.

[24] Ibid., Nos. 7, 8.

[25] Ibid., ii., Pl. IV., No. 8. [NOTE. These coins are not of Andriscus, but of Philip V., the radiated head being simply that of Helios.—ED.]

A woman seated on a throne. Some learned men have traced a resemblance between this figure and that of Astarte or Kybele, which is figured on a great many of the coins of the Bosporian kings. But the head of this woman does not bear the turreted crown, neither does she sustain on her knees a *tympanon*. The Phrygian cap, and the vase that the woman sustains, are perfectly visible. It is a matter of conjecture whether this vase was intended to hold the waters of the Phasis (the principal Colchian river), in the same manner as the canopi were used to hold the waters of the Nile.

The oar, or some other object, held in the right hand of the woman, is not quite so clearly defined.

The Count Prokesch-Osten considers the figure as being the personification of the Phasis,[26] and this opinion is moreover accredited by the late Mgr. Celestino Cavedoni.

This river seems, however, to have been of too little importance to have served as a monetary type; moreover, river divinities are never represented on thrones, but in a recumbent position, add to which, the Phasis, ὁ Φάσις, being of the masculine gender, could not be personified by a female figure.

In consequence, it suggests itself to us that the subject engraved on the reverse of the drachm is intended to personify Colchis itself. This figure should then be considered as a kind of *tyche*, or allegorical representa-

[26] At Antiochia was a celebrated statue of the Tyche of this town, a work of Eutychides. A small statue, perhaps a replica of those of Eutychides, is preserved in the Collection of Marbles of the Imperial Hermitage. This figure is represented seated on Mount Silpion, with the river divinity of Orontes at her feet. From the Campana Collection. See Mr. Gedernow's Catalogue, p. 76, No. 271; Müller, "Handbuch der Archaeologie," 3rd ed., p. 661.

tion of the locality, such as those of Antiochia ad Orontem,[27] Laodicea, Smyrna, Singara, &c., which are to be seen on the coins stamped in these towns. This example is further illustrated by the allegorical figures of Gaul, Spain, Egypt, &c., on the Roman coinage.

The two examples of the Aristarchos drachm we now know, are of about the same weight, and in form like that of the drachms of the last Cappadocian kings.

When Pompey had joined Cappadocia, Pontus, and the adjacent countries to the Roman Republic, his first care was to regulate the monetary system.

Hence he stopped the coinage of the tetradrachms, and only authorised as current money the drachms of the ancient Attic system. In Colchis, Cappadocia, under Aretas, king of the Nabataei, in Arabia, money was coined according to this system, which was also adopted by the Parthian kings.

BARON B. DE KOEHNE.

St. Petersburg.

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[27] Mommsen, "Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens," p. 36, 713, and the same, French ed. iii. p. 316.

II.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS ON THE COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. THE GREAT, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Introduction.

So long since as the year 1865[1] I had collected sufficient material to write a series of papers on the coins of Constantine the Great with Christian emblems, but various causes, partly domestic and partly connected with other work, notably the "Coinage of the Jews," left me but little time to examine this interesting subject. Now that I have completed my "Supplement to the History of Jewish Coinage,"[2] I have been able to look over my notes, and I propose in the following pages to give to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle the results of my examination of this question.

It will be remembered that in the case of the "Jewish

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[1] The Padre Garrucci in this year wrote as follows :—"These notes were ready for the press last year, and I was waiting to insert them in my 'Dissertations' until my other opponent [De Rossi] should also have spoken; when, however, Mr. Madden wrote to me on the 29th of August this year that he was going to write on this subject, I decided without longer delay to publish them" ("Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 23, *note* 1. Roma, 1865).

[2] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1874, vol. xiv. p. 281; 1875, vol. xv. pp. 41, 101, 169, 298; 1876, vol. xvi. pp. 45, 81, 177.

Coinage" I pointed out[3] that whereas several works had appeared on the Continent treating of this branch of numismatics, very little had been done in England. The same remarks apply to the present subject, with this addition, that so far from very little ever having been written in England, there is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, *absolutely nothing*,[4] and as to the works published abroad, they are, as will be seen, for the most part scattered through publications little known or consulted in England.

The first writer of modern times who has treated this question, M. Feuardent,[5] seized his opportunity from a discovery of a find—but where is not precisely known, perhaps in Algeria—of some five or six thousand coins, which, with the sole exception of a piece of Hanniballian, nephew of Constantine I., consisted of specimens of Constantine I., Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius II. The types were very varied, but generally common, save a few that bore the monogram of Christ upon the standard or in the *field* of the coin. With a view there-

[3] Preface, p. iii.

[4] Since writing the above I have become acquainted with a work entitled "Early Christian Numismatics and other Antiquarian Tracts," by Mr. C. W. King (London, 1873), which on examination turns out to be, as regards the portion relating to the coins of Constantine, a translation—and a very inaccurate one—of the Padre Garrucci's paper in the "Revue Numismatique" for 1866 (itself a translation—see *note* 16), with some additional observations on the later branch of the subject, the principal points of which I shall notice as occasion requires. It is hardly necessary to refer to the Rev. R. Walsh's essay "On the Coins, &c., illustrating the Progress of Christianity in the Early Ages," published in 1828 (*Cf.* F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi., p. 186, *note* 58). My text may therefore still remain as I have written it.

[5] "Médailles de Constantin et de ses Fils portant des Signes de Christianisme" in the "Revue Numismatique," 1856, p. 247.

fore of ascertaining, and if possible fixing, the precise date when the monogram of Christ first appeared on the coins of Constantine, M. Feuardent cited *three* coins from Mionnet and *five* from Banduri,[6] stating that as two of the pieces given by this latter author had been described by Mionnet, the number was reduced to *seven*, of which only *three* could be considered authentic. By the addition of four more, M. Feuardent raised the number of genuine specimens again to *seven*.[7]

On this evidence and on the argument that most of them could not have been struck before 330, as they bear the mint-mark of Constantinople (**CONST.**)—an idea long since exploded, as we shall hereafter see—M. Feuardent arrived at the conclusion that they were struck between 334 and 338, and that in all probability the monogram did not appear till 335, when Constantine divided the empire between his three sons.[8]

The next paper, which is of a much more elaborate nature, was written by the late Monsignor Celestino Cavedoni.[9] He says,[10] "Those who carefully examine the

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[6] "Num. Imp. Rom.," vol. ii. pp. 213—215, 217. To these he added a sixth, having the legend **GLORIA EXERCITVS** and a cross between two soldiers, and struck at Aquileia (Banduri, *op. cit.* pp. 242, 272).

[7] One of the coins, that with the legend **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO**, is erroneously attributed, and Banduri notes that the obverse legend has been misread. Genuine specimens belong to Constantius II. and Constans.

[8] The general opinion of Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii. p. 79) is that they were struck in 323, and after that date the coins no longer bear pagan emblems.

[9] "Ricerche critiche intorno alle medaglie di Costantino Magno e de' suoi figliuoli insignite di tipi e di simboli Cristiani," in the "Opuscoli Religiosi Letterarii e Morali," I., iii. pp. 37—61. Modena, 1858. Tirage à part, 27 pages.

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

coins of Constantine and his sons will be easily convinced that this wise monarch, until he had conquered all his rivals and enemies, tolerated on his coins the images of the Pagan divinities; then having become lord and master of the whole Roman empire by the defeat and death of Licinius in 323, banished them all and substituted in their place his own glorious military and civil types, and probably even some Christian symbols, and at last, after having founded a new capital for his empire (for the ancient capital with its Pagan senate would have opposed the establishment of an entirely Christian empire), placed on his coins and on those of his sons the *Cæsars*, the sacred monogram of Christ, and other marks of the only true religion, which he was the first to embrace and profess;" and again,[11] "the coins with the legend **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** all seem to have been struck previous to 330, for none of them bear the mark of the mint of **CONST.** [*sic*]; probably they were struck even previous to the year 326, as we find many others similar to them with the bust and inscription of Crispus, most noble Cæsar, on the obverse," whilst the general conclusion at which he seems to arrive is that[12] "all seem posterior to the foundation of Constantinople, the new metropolis of the Roman empire, which took place with great solemnity on the 11th of May of the year 330, and they were still more probably issued from 333 to 337."

The number of Constantinian coins with Christian types and symbols published by Cavedoni is *twenty-two*.

This work was shortly followed by another of the same

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[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 16.
[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

author's, entitled, "New Critical Researches, &c.,"[13] in which is traced the supposed Egyptian descent of the equilateral cross.

In the same year the Rev. Padre Garrucci published a long dissertation,[14] in which he vastly added to our knowledge, increasing the number of coins, by quotations from the writings of many authors not previously referred to, from the *seven* cited by Feuardent and the *twenty-two* by Cavedoni, to *seventy*, and he attempted to prove that the marks of Christianity were not only impressed on the coins of Constantine and his sons, but on those of the two Licinii, and that consequently their issue certainly preceded 330 and 326, and even the year 323.

In 1859 Cavedoni issued an "Appendix" to his first work,[15] which is virtually a review of Garrucci's paper, in which he retracted what he had previously written about the confusion between the Pagan and Christian symbols, but as regards the date of the first issue of the coins with Christian symbols, he was inclined to think that the authorities quoted by Garrucci were frequently of little value, and that the supposed monograms were in many cases only stars.

To these censures Garrucci, as he himself informs us,

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[13] "Nuove ricerche critiche intorno alle medaglie Costantiniane insignite dell' effigie della Croce," in the "Opuscoli Religiosi," &c., I., iv. pp. 53—63. Modena, 1858. Tirage à part, 11 pages.

[14] "Numismatica Costantiniana portante segni di Cristianesimo," in his "Vetri Ornati di figure in oro trovati nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani primitivi di Roma," pp. 86—105. Roma, 1858.

[15] "Appendice alle ricerche critiche intorno alle medaglie Costantiniane insignite dell' effigie della Croce e d'altri segni Cristiani" in the "Opuscoli Religiosi," &c., I., v. pp. 86—105. Modena, 1859. Tirage à part, 20 pages.

made a brief reply, which had not as large a circulation as it deserved, so that when he published in 1864 a second edition of his "Vetri," he reconsidered the question from the beginning.[16]

The number of the coins in this paper appear at the first glance to have been reduced by Garrucci from *seventy* to *forty*, but the fact is there is no great reduction, for in this second edition the coins are arranged by types and not by numbers.

Cavedoni immediately wrote a lengthy review of this second edition of Garrucci's work,[17] to which Garrucci replied in the following year,[18] but Cavedoni, who died November 26, 1865, probably did not see it.

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[16] "Numismatica Costantiniana, o sia dei segni di Cristianesimo sulle monete di Costantino, Licinio e loro figli Cesari," placed as a *parergon* to his "Vetri ornati di figure in oro," p. 232. Roma, 1864. A partial translation of this paper, omitting the introduction (pp. 232—235) and the concluding remarks (pp. 253—261), appeared in the "Revue Numismatique" for 1866 (p. 78, *seq.*), but it is not there so stated. Padre Garrucci wrote to me in this year,—"There will, I hope, soon be published in the 'Revue Numismatique de Paris" a version of my 'Numismatica Costantiniana,' which I owe to the learned pen of M. le Baron de Witte. As you have signified your intention of occupying yourself presently on this question, I wish to warn you that in this edition you will find some alterations due to De Witte and some emendations suggested by myself."

[17] "Disamina della nuova edizione della Numismatica Costantiniana del P. Raffaele Garrucci d. C. d. G." in the "Rivista della Numismatica antica e moderna," vol. i. pp. 210—228. Asti, 1864.

[18] "Note alla Numismatica Costantiniana," in the "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento," vol. ii. pp. 23—30. Roma, 1865. In this same year (1865) the Abbé Martigny published his "Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes," in which he treats of Christian emblems on coins in the article "Numismatique Chrétienne." He, however, only cites for the

This completes the catalogue of the works known to me on this subject.

In concluding these introductory remarks, I must, once for all, express my best thanks to Mr. B. V. Head and Mr. H. A. Grueber for the gracious manner with which they have at all times answered my queries, some of which I feel sure must have given them a considerable amount of trouble; and I must further especially thank the latter gentleman for the attention he has bestowed in the preparation of the plates, which will add so much to the interest of these papers.[19]

Previous, however, to commencing the account of the coins of the Constantinian period, I may mention that Christian emblems or marks by Christian artists are supposed to exist on some Roman coins of earlier date[20]:—

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reign of Constantine Feuardent's paper (1856), the "Ricerche Critiche" of Cavedoni (1858), and the first edition of Garrucci's paper (1858), omitting any mention of the later papers on this subject, some of which he certainly could have consulted. This portion of the article is consequently not of any great value to the numismatist, and in some instances might mislead the ordinary reader.

[19] I must again record (see "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 57, *note* 22) the utter uselessness of M. Cohen's last two volumes, a fact to which the Rev. C. Babington has more recently alluded ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1874, vol. xiv. p. 84). I am informed that a new edition of the "[illegible]" is in course of publication, and I may therefore be allowed to express the hope that the mint-marks will *in every case* be affixed to the types to which they belong.

[20] On a coin of barbarous fabric of the Pagan emperor Tetricus (267—273) with the legend **ORIENS AVG.** and the type of the sun walking, there is in the *field* a *cross*. Perhaps some might wish to see in this a sign of Christianity. Cohen, who has published this coin ("Suppl." No. 26), says, "Si la croix qui est dans le champ a une signification quelconque, cette médaille pourrait être une de celles qui furent

1. The representation of Noah and his wife coming out of the ark on coins of Septimius Severus (193—211), Macrinus (217), and Philip I. (244—249), struck at Apameia in Phrygia.[21] 2. The curious medallion of Trajan Decius (249—251), struck at Mæonia in Lydia, with the type of Bacchus in a chariot drawn by panthers, but having in the legend of the reverse the letters X and P of the word APX (ἄρχοντος) joined so as to form the monogram ☧, which is carefully placed between two A's (A ☧ A) in the middle of the legend at the top of the coin.[22] If this be really the monogram of Christ and engraved by a Christian artist, which is not unlikely, it probably affords an example of the existence of the monogram as a *Christian emblem* previous to the reign of Constantine; but it is not certain that there are any other known Christian monuments with the ☧ of so early a date.[23] 3. The billon coins of the Empress Salonina (*circ.* 260—268) with the legends **AVG.** or **AVGVSTA IN PACE,** from which M. de Witte, in

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frappées à l'effigie de Tétricus, longtemps après sa mort, à l'époque du Christianisme." Rasche ("Lex.," vol. i. part ii. p. 1098) appears to speak of a coin of Tacitus (275, 276) with a *cross* in the *field*. But in both these cases the supposed *cross* is probably only a *star*. A *cross* is also given by Cohen ("Méd. Imp." vol. vi. Pl. XV.) in the *field* of a coin of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian; but I have shown elsewhere (see under § XV., "Remarks on the Forms of the Crosses adopted by Constantine I.") that the coin has been incorrectly described and engraved.

[21] A full account of these interesting coins may be found in my paper in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 173.

[22] C. Lenormant, "Des signes de Christianisme qu'on trouve sur quelques Monuments Numismatiques du iii^e^ siècle," in the "Mélanges d'Archéologie," vol. iii. p. 196, Paris, 1853; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 215, Pl. VII. No. 2.

[23] See § XV., "Remarks on the Forms of the Crosses adopted by Constantine I."

some interesting essays, has attempted to prove, and with apparent success, that Salonina was a Christian and died *in pace;* though the coins appear to have been struck during her lifetime.[24]

I must, however, add that the late Abbé Cavedoni considered the opinion of M. de Witte a paradox, and did not admit his interpretation of the legend.[25]

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§ I.—Chronological and Historical Sketch of the Reign of Constantine.

In the year 306 Constantius Chlorus died at York, and Severus was proclaimed *Augustus* by Galerius Maximian. His son Constantine, who had with some difficulty obtained permission from Galerius to join his father, was appointed by Constantius on his death-bed his successor, and was immediately proclaimed emperor and *Augustus* by the soldiers, but was only recognised as *Cæsar* by Galerius. He retained as his dominions those held by his father, namely, Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana. A.D. 306.

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[24] "Mémoire sur l'Impératrice Salonine," in the "Mém. de l'Academie Royale de Belgique," vol. xxvi., Bruxelles, 1852; "Médailles de Salonine," in the "Revue de la Numismatique Belge," vol. ii. 2nd series, Bruxelles, 1853; cf. "Du Christianisme de quelques Impératrices romaines avant Constantin," in the "Mélanges d'Archéologie," vol. iii., Paris, 1853; "Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 71; C. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1857, pp. 243—245. Mr. C. W. King ("Early Christ. Num.," p. 44), who speaks of "very little attention" having been paid to this legend, has some views on the subject, which, to use his own words, "have, at least, the merit of originality" (p. 49, *note*).

[25] "Sopra l'Imperatrice Salonina," in the "Album. Giornale Letterario e di Belle Arti," vol. xix. pp. 93—94, 127, 128, 133—135, Roma, 1852; cf. A. de Barthélemy, "Revue Numismatique," 1853, p. 64.

A.D. On the 27th of October of the same year,[26] Maxentius, the son of Maximian Hercules, assumed the title of *Augustus* at Rome, and rebelled against Severus.

307. In the following year, 307, Maxentius persuaded his father to resume the purple, and Severus, having marched against Rome, was defeated and obliged to shut himself up in Ravenna, but soon being forced to yield was put to death. Constantine was now acknowledged as *Augustus* by Maxentius and Maximian, and the latter gave him in marriage his daughter Fausta, his former wife, Minervina, the mother of Crispus, being at this time dead.[27] Galerius then associated Licinius, his old friend, as *Augustus*, without first giving him the title of *Cæsar*, assigning to him Illyricum, and being obliged to recognise in some way the claims of his nephew Maximinus Daza, who had been made *Cæsar* in 306, on the abdication of Diocletian, and also to give some assent to Constantine having been made *Augustus*, gave them both the title of *Filii Augustorum*.[28] He was, however, compelled to recognise them as emperors in the following

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[26] "Dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est ad VI. Kal. Novembris."—"De Mortibus Persecutorum," c. 44. This work is usually quoted as that of Lactantius, but its authorship is uncertain, it being assigned by some to a Lucius Cæcilius; but the arguments in favour of this view are not convincing (Smith "Dict. of Biography," *s. v.* Cæcilius; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. ii. p. 107, *note*).

[27] Victor ("Epit.," 41) and Zosimus (ii. 20) both call Minervina the *concubine* of Constantine, but according to the Panegyrist ("Incert. Paneg. Max. et Const.," c. 4) she was his lawful wife—"Quo magis continentiam patris æquare potuisti, quam quod te *ab ipso fine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti?*" See under A.D. 317.

[28] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," **MAXIMINVS FIL. AVGG.**, Nos. 47, 63; **CONSTANTINVS FIL. AVGG.** (and **AVG.**), Nos. 46, 268, 273, 274, 276.

year, 308. There were then at this time six reigning emperors:— A.D. 308.

The East.	*The West.*
Galerius.	Maximianus.
Licinius I.	Maxentius.
Maximinus.	Constantinus I.

The army, however, in Africa, rejected Maxentius and proclaimed Alexander,[29] who was soon after (311) subdued and put to death; not, however, before Carthage had suffered severely from fire and sword.

In 310[30] Maximian, after repeated quarrels with his son 310.

[29] Gold and copper coins of this Alexander are extant with the *exergual* letters **P. K.** (*Prima Karthagini*). The gold are very rare, only two at present being known.

[30] In this year (310), if numismatic evidence is of value, Constantine had assumed the title of *Pontifex Maximus*. On a very rare gold *quinarius*, formerly in the Blacas Collection (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 81), and now in the British Museum (Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 32), there occurs the legend **PONT. MAX. TRIB. P. P. P. PROCS.** (*sic*). The title may again be found on a small brass coin with the legend **P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P.** (312), published by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 74) from *Bimard*, and by Cohen (No. 406) from *Mionnet*, in this latter case without the obverse legend and type. The *exergual* letters are given as **P. LN.** (*Prima Londinio*), but I am inclined to doubt the authenticity of this piece. The title is again repeated on the gold coins of 315 (Cohen, Nos. 78, 79), and of 320 (Cohen, No. 80), and occurs on inscriptions of the year 328 (Eckhel, vol. viii. p. 76; Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 384; vol. ii. p. 94). Dr. Plate (Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Constantine), in saying that Constantine accepted the title of *Pontifex Maximus* about 312, adds that it shows that "at that time he had not the slightest intention of elevating Christianity at the expense of Paganism." I do not, however, think that the use of this title can be brought forward against the Christianity of Constantine, for it was likewise employed by his Christian successors, notably in an inscription of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian of 370 (Gruter, p. 160, 4), being the last time that several emperors assumed it together, the original custom

A.D. Maxentius, was driven out of Italy and was put to death in Gaul by order of Constantine.

311. In 311[31] Galerius died, and his dominions were divided between Licinius and Maximinus Daza. The former took the European, the latter the Asiatic part.

Constantine being determined to stop the tyranny of Maxentius,[32] and having reviewed in his own mind all considerations, "judged it to be folly indeed to join in the worship of those who were no gods," and "therefore felt it incumbent on him to honour no other than the God of his father."[33]

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having been for only one emperor to bear it at a time, but this rule had been broken through by Maximus and Balbinus in 238 (Capit., "Max. et Balb.," c. 8). Gratian eventually, after the revolt of Magnus Maximus in 382, declined the title and the vestments (Zosim., iv. 36, 7—10), thinking them not suitable for a Christian. It is said by some (Adam's "Antiq.," ed. Major, p. 253) that the title occurs on one of his coins, but no specimen is recorded by Cohen. After Gratian the title was disused by the Roman emperors, but it was eventually reassumed by the Christian bishops (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 210, *s. v.* Bishop).

[31] A short time previous to his death, Galerius published an edict favourable to the Christians. It is given by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," viii. c. 17) in Greek, and by Lactantius ("De Mort. Persecut.," c. 34) in Latin, but the latter omits the preliminary titles of Maximian, Constantine, and Licinius which are given by Eusebius. See under A.D. 315.

[32] "All historians agree in representing this prince as a monster of rapacity, cruelty, and lust" (the late Prof. Ramsay, Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Maxentius).

[33] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 27. Constantius *Chlorus*, or the *Pale*, is highly spoken of by Eusebius ("Vit. Const.," i. c. 16—18). By Theophanes he is called Χριστιανόφρων, or a man of Christian principles. It is not known whence he received the name of *Chlorus*, given to him by later Byzantine writers (Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Constantius Chlorus). Gibbon (vol. ii. ed. Smith, p. 67, *note* 11) observes that any remarkable degree of paleness seems inconsistent with the *rubor* mentioned in the Panegyrics (v. 19).

He is consequently said to have prayed earnestly to God, and whilst he was thus praying with fervent entreaty a most marvellous sign appeared to him from heaven.[34] About mid-day, when the sun was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes in the heavens the trophy of a cross of light placed above the sun, and bearing the inscription, **BY THIS CONQUER.**[35] The whole army who were with him are said to have witnessed the miracle, but Constantine doubting in his own mind what the import of this apparition might be, continued to meditate till night. During his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign that he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign, and to use it as a safeguard against his enemies.[36]

So soon as it was day he arose, and calling together those that worked in jewels and precious stones, he sat in the midst and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, and commanded them to make one like it in

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[34] Θεοσημία τις ἐπιφαίνεται παραδοξοτάτη. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 28.

[35] Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον, ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι, λέγουσαν **ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ**. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 28. Constantine died ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας on the Feast of Pentecost (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 64). Prudentius ("In Symm.," 467, 468) writes—

> "*Hoc signo invictus*, transmissis Alpibus ultor
> Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus."

For the supposed coin of Constantine I., with the legend **IN HOC. SIN.** (*sic*) **VIC.**, see § XVIII., "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine I."

[36] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 29. "Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut *cæleste signum Dei* notaret in scutis atque ita prœlium committeret." "De Mort. Pers.," c. 44. See *note* 42. Socrat., "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 2; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 3.

gold and precious stones;[37] to which Eusebius adds, "and I also have seen this representation."[38]

The description of the standard of the cross, called by the Romans *labarum*,[39] is then given by Eusebius in the following words[40]:—"A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of a cross by means of a piece placed transversely across it. On the top of all there was a crown, interwoven with costly precious stones and gold, on which the symbol of the title of our Salvation, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of the first letters, the letter P being marked diagonally with X exactly in its centre,[41] and these letters the emperor, at a later period, used to wear on his helmet." Eusebius adds that the transverse piece of the spear had suspended to it a purple cloth embroidered with precious stones, and that the banner was of a square form, and that the upright staff bore golden portraits of the emperor and of his children.[42]

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[37] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 30.

[38] Ὁ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ συνέβη παραλαβεῖν. Euseb., *op. cit.*

[39] Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 4. The derivation and meaning of the word *labarum* or λάβαρον is totally unknown (cf. Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. iii. p. 12, *note* 33). Riddle ("Lat. Lex.," *s. v.*) says it was derived from the Bretagnic *lab*, "to raise," or from the *labarva*, which in the Basque language still signifies "a standard." By others it has been derived from *labor*, with which derivation Valesius assents—"*Laborum* dictum est, quod *laboranti* aciei præsidium sit salutare." Cf. Gretser, "De Cruce," Book ii. Martigny ("Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," *s. v.*) wisely abstains from giving any derivation.

[40] "Vit. Const.," i. c. 31.

[41] Τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον, δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα, διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμαινον χαρακτήρων, χιαζομένου τοῦ ρ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον.

[42] This description agrees generally with that given by Prudentius ("In Symm.," 487, *seq.*), who speaks of both the

Encouraged by these signs, Constantine advanced against Maxentius, whom he defeated on the 27th of October, 312, Maxentius himself being drowned in the Tiber while endeavouring to escape over the Milvian bridge.[43] A.D. 312.

Constantine now became sole master of the West.[44]

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labarum and the *shields* being adorned with the monogram after the defeat of Maxentius:—

"Christus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *labarum*; clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat; ardebat summis *crux* addita cristis."

Fifty chosen men were afterwards (in the war against Licinius) selected to carry and defend the standard (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 8), and the sign of the salutary trophy (τοῦ σωτηρίου τροπαίου, σύμβολον) was placed on the shields of the soldiers (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 21; cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 8), and the army on the march was preceded by the same sacred sign. The word χίαζω in the text of Eusebius in previous note is equivalent to the Latin *decusso*, and the form of the monogram as there described would rather seem to be ☧ than ✗. The kind of cross to be placed on the shields of the soldiers is thus given in the "De Mortibus Persecutorum" (c. 44), "Facit ut jussus est et transversa **X** litera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum." To which Cellarius (ed. Bünemann, Lips., 1838) adds "Litera **X** decussata est; transversa, perpendicularis linea transverse secta sic ✝; summo perpendiculo si **P** adnectitur, habes initiales literas **XP** ex sanctissimo nomine Χριστός." See *notes* 36, 47.

[43] Perhaps a representation of this bridge is intended on the small brass coins struck by Constantine I., having on the obverse **POP. ROMANVS**, and on the reverse the type of a bridge across a river, and in the *exergue* **CONS.**, with various differential letters (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 180), though this is doubtful; and Eckhel writes ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 98), "*Pontis* vet *portus* typum nemo hactenus idonee explicavit."

[44] The story of the cross of light in the sky (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 28), as also that of the cross-bearer miraculously preserved from the shower of darts in the war with Licinius ("Vit. Const.," ii. c. 9), are not attested by Eusebius himself,

A.D. 312. Shortly after Constantine's entry into Rome, he, in conjunction with Licinius, his colleague, "having first praised God, as the author of all their successes," drew up a full and comprehensive edict in favour of the Christians, and then sent it to Maximin, ruler in the East, who, fearful of refusing, addressed a decree to the governors under him respecting the Christians, as if of his own free will.[45]

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but were related to Eusebius, in the former case, *long afterwards* (*μακροῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις*), by Constantine himself on *oath* (*ὅρκοις τε πιστωσαμένου τὸν λόγον*), and in the latter case are given solely on the emperor's authority (*οὐκ ἡμέτερος δ' ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ* **ΠΑΛΙΝ** *βασιλέως*). It does not fall within our province to discuss the truth or not of the *manner* of Constantine's conversion—suffice it to say he was converted,—but I may refer to the first "Excursus" of Heinichen (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," Leipsic, 1830, p. 507) for a full summary of the opinions and arguments of writers who have examined this question. Cf. Lardner, "Credibility," vol. iv. p. 14, *seq.*; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. iii. p. 11, *seq.*

[45] Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," ix. c. 9. The original edict is not now extant, but the copy issued by Maximin is given by Eusebius in Greek (*loc. cit.*). It commences "**IOVIVS MAXIMINVS AVGVSTVS** to Sabinus, &c." The title of *Jovius* was taken by Diocletian, and that of *Herculeus* by Maximian (Vict., "In Cæs."), and is attested by their coins (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.;" Diocletian, Med., No. 105, cf. Nos. 115, 123, 203, 254; Med., Nos. 2, 3, 4; Maximian, Med., No. 126; cf. No. 282). Galerius Maximian, having married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian, was called *Cæsar Jovius* (**VIRTVS IOVI CAESARIS**, *R.*, Cohen, "Anc. Cat. du Cab. des Méd.," No. 27). Constantius Chlorus, who married Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian, was called *Cæsar Hercules* (**VIRTVS HERCVLI CAESARIS**, *R.*, Cohen, *Wigan*, No. 54: *not* Wigan, see Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 124). Maximin Daza, who had been created by Galerius *Cæsar*, assumed by right of adoption the title of *Jovius* (**IOVIVS MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES.**, Cohen, No. 31), as Eusebius has given him. Licinius I. and II. also adopted it (**DD. NN. IOVII LICINII INVICT. AVG. ET CAES.**, Cohen, No. 1). See under A.D. 315.

The whole Roman people received Constantine as their saviour and their benefactor. The Senate passed a decree assigning him the first rank among the three *Augusti*, a position that Maximin, the eldest *Cæsar*, naturally claimed, and perhaps offered him the title of *Maximus*.[46] He himself, to commemorate the defeat of Maxentius, is said to have had erected a statue of himself in the most frequented part of Rome, and to have ordered a long spear *in the form of a cross* to be placed in the hands of the statue, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language:—BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN, THE TRUE SYMBOL OF VALOUR, I HAVE SAVED YOUR CITY, LIBERATED FROM THE YOKE OF THE TYRANT. I HAVE ALSO RESTORED THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE TO THEIR ANCIENT DIGNITY AND SPLENDOUR.[47] A.D. 312.

At the end of the year 312 or commencement of 313, Constantine and Licinius were at Milan, where the latter 312—313.

[46] See under A.D. 315; cf. Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 133, *note* 73.

[47] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," i. c. 40; "Hist. Eccles.," ix. c. 9. In this latter the object to be placed in the hands of the statue is called "a trophy of the Saviour's passion" and "the salutary sign of the cross." Gibbon ("Rom. Emp.," vol. iii. p. 12, *note* 31) says, "This statue, or at least the cross and inscription, may be ascribed with more probability to the second or even the third visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, the minds of the Senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public monument;" and yet the Senate paid adoration to the *labarum*—

> "Tunc ille Senatus
> Militiæ ultricis titulum, Christique verendum
> Nomen adoravit quod collucebat in armis."
> Prudent., "In Symm.," 494—496.

The inscription on the arch of Constantine proclaims that by the greatness of his own mind and the *inspiration of the Divinity* (*instinctu Divinitatis*) Constantine defeated Maxentius. (See § XVIII., "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine I.")

A.D. was married to Constantia, the half-sister of Constantine;[48] and here the two emperors issued a second edict, giving liberty to the Christians in particular and to all men in general to follow the worship of that deity which each might approve, so that thus the Divine Being (*Divinitas*) might be propitious to them and to all their subjects.[49]

313. In the meantime Maximin, taking advantage of the marriage festivities which were going on at Milan, marched from Syria into Bithynia, and from thence into Thrace. Licinius immediately left Milan in pursuit, and in a pitched battle near Adrianople defeated him. Maximin fled to Mount Taurus and thence to Tarsus, where he is said to have given glory to the God of the Christians and enacted a full and complete law for their liberty;[50] but too late, for, being seized with a violent disease, he perished miserably (313).[51]

Licinius I. now became sole master of the East.

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[48] "Constantinus, rebus in Urbe compositis, hiemo proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem."—"De Mortibus Pers.," c. 45; Vict., "Epit."; Zosim., ii. 17.

[49] "Ut possit nobis *summa divinitas*, cujus religioni liberis mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque præstare." . . . . "Hactenus fiet, ut sicut superius comprehensum est, *divinus* juxta nos *favor*, quem in tantis sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospero successibus nostris cum beatitudine publica perseveret." This edict is given in the original Latin in the "De Mortibus Pers.," (c. 48), excepting a few lines at the commencement, and in Greek by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles." x. c. 5). The *divinitas* is clearly meant for *Deus*—"*divinitas* quæ gubernat hunc mundum" (Lactant., "De Vera Sapientia," c. 3). Eusebius (*op. cit.*) also gives the text of several letters of Constantine that were written about this time concerning the welfare of the Christians.

[50] Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," ix. c. 10.

[51] Diocletian died the same year after the marriage of Constantia, and before the death of Maximin (Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 866).

When Licinius came to Nicomedia and had *given thanks to God* for his victory,[52] he repeated the edict in favour of the Christians as issued by Constantine and himself at Milan.[53] A.D.

The friendship of Constantine and Licinius was not, however, of long duration, for in 314 growing animosity broke out into open war,[54] some say on account of the treatment of the Christians by Licinius.[55] Constantine, having pitched the tabernacle of the cross outside the camp, passed his time in prayer, whilst Licinius is said to have refused to acknowledge the God whom Constantine worshipped, and indulged in idolatrous practices.[56] Victory everywhere followed the appearance of the standard of the cross, for which a special body-guard of fifty men was selected.[57] Two battles were fought, one at Cibalis in Pannonia, where Licinius was totally defeated, the other at Mardia in Thrace, where he was so worsted that he sought for peace, which was accepted by Constantine, who 314.

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[52] "Licinius vero—trajecit exercitum in Bithyniam paucis post pugnam diebus, et Nicomediam ingressus, *gratiam Deo, cujus auxilio vicerat*, retulit."—"De Mort. Pers.," c. 48.

[53] "De Mort. Pers.," c. 48. See *notes* 45, 49.

[54] Licinius had been discovered carrying on a secret correspondence with Bassianus (the husband of Anastasia, the half-sister of Constantine) who had been destined as *Cæsar*, and to have the government of Italy. Bassianus was summarily punished.

[55] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 8. It is very difficult to make out from the passages in Eusebius whether he is alluding to the period previous to the battle of Cibalis or to that of 323. Clinton (F. R., vol. i. p. 375) seems to assign this statement of Eusebius to the *second war*, but confesses that both the "Vit. Const." and the "Hist. Eccles." are "vague and indistinct." But the "renewal of friendship and alliance" mentioned in a later chapter (ii. c. 15) would seem to refer to the peace of 314, and hence one might infer that the account of Eusebius in earlier chapters relates to the *first war*.

[56] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 12 and 5.

[57] Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 7 and 8.

A.D. added Illyricum and Greece to his dominions, leaving Thrace to Licinius.

315. This year the title of *Maximus* and the *diadem* are officially decreed to Constantine by the Senate.

The title of *Maximus* is given to Constantine I. by Eumenius in his "Panegyricus Constantino Augusto dictus," pronounced at Treves in 310;[58] but as all the deeds of the emperor are by this author "magnified in most outrageous hyperboles,"[59] so much so that Heyne[60] can hardly believe that Eumenius is the author of this declamation, the statement cannot be accepted as true. Pagius[61] gives the date as 311, on the authority of a coin with **MAX**. on the obverse, and on the reverse **VOTIS V MVLT. X**, but Eckhel says,[62] "Verum unde hos numos hausit? Ex Mediobarbo, præclaro et hoc judice." M. Feuardent says[63] that the legend **MAX**. on the coins of Constantine confirms the idea already known by some of these coins bearing an aged head, that they were not struck till the *end of his reign;* whilst M. Cohen writes,[64] "Le titre de **MAXIMVS** ne fut donné à Constantin qu'à *la fin de son règne,* aussi, ne paraît-il pas que ce titre se rencontre sur aucune médaille de petit bronze qui ne soit du module voisin du quinaire;" but on what authority these statements are made I do not know.

The statement of Lactantius is as follows;[65] "Senatus Constantino virtutis gratiâ *primi nominis titulum* decrevit,

[58] VI. cap. 13.

[59] The late Prof. Ramsay, Smith's "Dict. of Biography," *s. v.* Eumenius.

[60] "Censura XII. Panegyricorum Veterum," in his "Opuscula Academica," vol. vi. p. 80.

[61] "Crit. Baron." Ann. 311, § 9.

[62] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 94.

[63] "Revue Numismatique," 1856, p. 249.

[64] "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 89.

[65] "De Mort. Pers.," c. 44.

quem sibi Maximinus vindicabat; ad quem victoria liberatæ urbis quum fuisset adlata, non aliter accepit, quam si ipse victus esset." Some[66] have interpreted this passage to mean that the Senate decreed to Constantine "the first rank among the Augusti," whilst others[67] have suggested that it ought to be read "virtutis gratiâ primi *numinis* titulum decrevit," alluding to Jupiter, whose title was that of "Optimus *Maximus*." From inscriptions of the years 293—295 we learn that both Diocletian and Maximian assumed the title of *Maximus*, accompanied by that of "Sarmaticus," "Persicus," "Germanicus," &c.,[68] and Galerius Maximian, doubtless from his having been called *Cæsar Jovius*,[69] took it also to himself, employing it in an edict issued conjointly with Constantine and Licinius in 311 *no less than nine times*.[70] The impious Maximinus Daza, who had been made *Cæsar* by Galerius, assumed the title of *Jovius*[71] as well as that of *Maximus*, as Lactantius says: "Quem sibi Maximinus vindicabat," and that the honour was probably offered to Constantine the Great by the Senate, to the great grief and indignation of Maximinus, seems to be further confirmed by the concluding words of Lactantius:—"Cognito deinde senatus decreto, sic exarsit dolore, ut inimicitias aperte profiteretur, convicia jocis mixta *adversus imperatorem maximum* diceret."[72]

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[66] Cellarius, "Notes to Lactantius," ed. Bünemann, Lips. 1739.

[67] Lactantius, ed. Paulus Bauldri, Utrecht, 1692.

[68] Gruter, p. 166, 7, 8; Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 336.

[69] See *note* 45.

[70] Euseb., "Hist. Eccles." viii. c. 17; cf. Lactant., "De Mort. Pers." c. 34. See *note* 31.

[71] See *note* 45.

[72] The title of "Maximus" is not of frequent occurrence on the coins of the sons of Constantine the Great. It occurs on the coins of Constantine II. with the legend **GLORIA**

It is, however, more probable that the title was officially decreed to him in 315, when the triumphal arch to commemorate the victory over Maxentius in 312 was dedicated to him by the Senate—**IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P. F. AVGVSTO S.P.Q.R.** &c.;[73] and this indeed is confirmed by a genuine brass coin preserved in the *Musée de Vienne*, having on the obverse **CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. COS. IIII**, and on the reverse the legend **SOLI INVICTO COMITI.**[74]

It is extremely likely that the Senate decreed to Constantine at the same time the *diadem*, as I have elsewhere stated,[75] and it was perhaps on the occasion of these honours being conferred that Constantine distributed money to the people, as attested by his coins.[76]

EXERCITVS, struck at Lyons and Siscia, but not mentioned by Cohen (see § XX. "Coins of Constantine II., &c."), and it may be found on some of his inscriptions (Gruter, p. 178, i.) as also on inscriptions of Constantius II. and Constans (Muratori, p. 1067), whilst on the coins of these two sons it may sometimes be found, though rarely. (CONSTANTIUS II., *R.* Med. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 4 from *Cab. de M. Charvet; N.* Med. Cohen, No. 8 *autrefois Cab. des Médailles; N.* Med. Cohen, No. 30 from *British Museum; N.* No. 86; Æ., Cohen, "Suppl.," No. 16; CONSTANS, *N.* Med. Cohen, No. 52 from *British Museum*; Æ. Cohen, No. 135 from *Musée de Danemarc.*)

[73] Orelli, "Inscr." No. 1075. See under § XVIII., "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine."

[74] Eckhel, "Cat. du Musée de Vienne;" Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 467, who also quotes another specimen (No. 468) from Banduri.

[75] See under § XVII., "Coins of Constantine I. with the *Diadem.*"

[76] *Obv.* **CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust to the right with *diadem.* (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 160, from Welzl.) The type also occurs on the coins of Constantius II. (Cohen, No. 31), and I have in another paper ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 300) made some remarks on the **LARGITIO** given by this Emperor to his Eastern subjects.

In this year Crispus and Constantine II., the sons of Constantine I., and Licinius II., the son of Licinius I., were made *Cæsars.* A.D. 317.

Crispus, the son of Minervina, was at this time about seventeen years of age. According to Dr. Plate,[77] Constantine II., the son of Fausta, was born on the 7th of August, 312. Tillemont and Cohen, however, give the year 316. Eckhel[78] writes, "De anno natali litigant eruditi." I must, however, mention that Dr. Plate in another place[79] speaks of Constantine II. as *twenty-one years* of age in 337, thus making the year of his birth 316. Licinius II. was born in 315. Victor[80] says, "Filium suum Crispum nomine ex Minervinâ concubinâ susceptum, item Constantinum *iisdem diebus* natum oppido Arelatensi, Licinianumque Licinii filium, mensium fere viginti, Cæsares effecit," and Zosimus,[81] "Καθίστησι Καίσαρα Κρίσπον ἐκ παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γενόμενον Μινερβίνης ὄνομα, ἤδη νεανίαν ὄντα, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἀρελάτῳ τῇ πόλει τεχθέντα, ἀναδείκνυται δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Λικιννίου παῖς Λικιννιανὸς, εἰς εἰκοστὸν προελθὼν μῆνα τῆς ἡλικίας. From the statements of Victor and Zosimus, it would appear that Constantine II. was born about 317, and in this case he would be younger than the baby Licinius II., who was born in 315, and consequently only twenty months old. Jerome, *anno* 2333 [A.D. 317], writes, "Constantini 11. Crispus et Constantinus *filii* Constantini, et Licinius *adolescens*[82] Licinii Augusti *filius*, Constantini ex sorore

[77] Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Constantine II.
[78] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 105.
[79] Smith, *op. cit.*, *s. v.* Constantius II.
[80] "Epit."
[81] II. 20. Minervina was *not* the concubine of Constantine, as stated here and in Victor, but his lawful wife. See *note* 27.
[82] As a *part.* means *growing up, young;* as a *subst.* properly

nepos, Cæsares appellantur," and probably simply means "Licinius the *younger*."

Clinton[83] interprets the passages from Victor and Zosimus as meaning that Constantine II. was born at the end of February, 317, so that in 321, when Nazarius[84] writes "Te vero, Constantine Cæsar, quibus votis amplectitur Romana felicitas?—Jam maturato studio literis habilis, jam felix dextera fructuosa subscriptione lætatur," Constantine II., as thus described by his panegyrist, would only be in his *fifth year*, but the *maturato studio literis habilis* would equally, and perhaps more appropriately, apply to him if he was born in 312, and at this time *nine years of age.*

I may add, that as Constantine I. gave the name of *Constantina* to "Arles" about the year 312, he might have been induced to do so in commemoration of the birth of his son Constantine II., his eldest son by his second wife Fausta.[84a]

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from fifteen to thirty years of age. The term *adolescens* is applied by Cicero ("De Orat.," ii. 2) to Crassus when thirty-four years of age; to Antony when thirty-four ("Phil." ii. 21); to Brutus and Cassius when forty ("Phil." ii. 44), and to himself when forty-four ("Phil." ii. 46). He even calls himself *adolescentulus* when twenty-seven ("Orat. ad Brutum," 30), and Cæsar is so designated by Sallust ("Cat." 49) at thirty-seven years of age. It was sometimes used to distinguish the *younger* of two persons (Cæs. "De Bell. Gall." vii. 87). The word νεανίας, applied by Zosimus in the above-quoted passage to Crispus, a youth of seventeen, had also a vague signification (Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 5, *note* 21).

[83] F. R., vol. i. p. 372. Gibbon ("Hist. of Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 142, *note*) says, when the treaty was made between Constantine and Licinius it is certain that the younger Constantine and Licinius II. were not born, and that it is highly probable the promotion was made the 1st of March, 317.

[84] "Paneg. Const.," c. 37.

[84a] See under § VII. "Coins of Constantine I. and II. and Constantius II."

Constantine I. this year enacted two laws,[85] one addressed to Maximus, the other to the people of Rome, permitting the Senate and others to consult soothsayers upon occasion of thunder and lightning, &c., provided it was done publicly, but soothsayers were strictly forbidden to enter private houses. A similar law was also passed in 321.[86] Zosimus[87] states that Constantine paid great regard to soothsayers, but Tillemont and others have shown that his word cannot be believed, and that Constantine only approved of soothsayers under proper restrictions, out of regard for the prejudices of a heathen people. A.D. 319.

Crispus defeats the *Franci* in Gaul.[88] 320.

This year Constantine I. enjoined all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the "Lord's Day,"[89] and passed an edict for the solemn observance of *Sunday*,[90] which he called *dies Solis*.[91] 321.

Constantine I. is victorious over the *Goths* and the *Sarmatæ*.[92] 322.

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[85] Lardner, "Credibility," vol. viii. p. 99.

[86] Clinton, F. R., vol. ii. p. 90.

[87] Lib. ii.

[88] No coin of Crispus exists commemorating this victory. The gold *quinarius* described in Cohen (No. 7) from the "Anc. Cat. du Cab. des Médailles" is probably false. If any were struck with the legend **FRANCIA** they most likely allude to the victories of his father in 306. See under § XVI., "Coins of Constantine I. with the *Nimbus*."

[89] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 18.

[90] Clinton, F. R., vol. ii. p. 91.

[91] Τὴν δέ γε σωτήριον ἡμέραν, ἣν καὶ φωτὸς εἶναι καὶ ἡλίου ἐπώνυμον συμβαίνει.—Euseb. "Vit. Const." iv. c. 18. Cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 8. Gibbon (vol. iii. p. 3, *note* 8) writes, "A name which could not offend the ears of his Pagan subjects."

[92] Coins are extant commemorating these events. Constantine I. Æ. med. **VICTORIA GOTHICA** (Cohen, No. 176); Æ. **SARMATIA DEVICTA** (No. 451); **SARMATIS**

A.D. 323. For nine years there had been peace, but at last, in 323, a second war broke out, for what cause is uncertain, but it is said that Licinius had been secretly collecting a military force, even inviting the barbarians to join his standard.[93] Licinius, who had given his soldiers particular instructions not to attack the standard of the cross, first commenced the assault.[94] A battle was fought at Adrianople, which ended in the defeat of Licinius, who fled to Byzantium. Crispus was ordered to attack the fleet of Licinius, and succeeded in obtaining a brilliant naval victory. Licinius now associated Martinianus, his *magister officiorum*, as *Augustus*,[95] and again met the forces of Constantine at Chrysopolis, where he was utterly defeated and obliged to sue for pardon. Martinianus was put to death, but the life of Licinius, at the request of his wife Constantia, the half-sister of Constantine, was spared—only, however, for a brief period, as he was in the next year (324) put to death at Thessalonica, where he had been placed in confinement.[96]

DEVICTIS (No. 453). Crispus, Æ. **SARMATIA DEVICTA** (No. 112). Constantine I., *N*. **DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM**. In exergue, **GOTHIA. TR.** (No. 48 from *Beger*); Æ. med. **EXVPERATOR OMNIVM GENTIVM** (No. 162). There was another Gothic war in 332, in which Constantine II. *Cæsar* was victorious—Æ. **SARMATIA DEVICTA** (No. 158 from *Tanini*); Æ. med. **DEBELLATORI GENTT. BARBARR.** (Nos. 56, 57, and *note*).

[93] Euseb., "Vit. Const." ii. c. 15.

[94] Euseb., "Vit. Const." ii. c. 16.

[95] Brass coins of Martinianus are extant with the legend **IOVI CONSERVATORI**, and struck at Nicomedia (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 85).

[96] "Contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus est."—Eutrop. x. 6. "Licinius Thessalonicæ contra jus sacramenti privatus occiditur."—Hieron. "Chron." Λικίννιον δὲ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἐκπέμψας ὡς βιωσόμενον αὐτόθι σὺν

By this victory Constantine I. became sole master of the Roman world.[97]

On November 8, 323, Constantius II. was made *Cæsar*.

ἀσφαλείᾳ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοὺς ὅρκους πατήσας (ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτῷ σύνηθες) ἀγχόνῃ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται.—Zosim. ii. 28. But Licinius was really so bad a man, as even allowed by Julian ("Cæs."; cf. Victor, "Epit."), that some excuse can be made for Constantine. Eusebius ("Vit. Const." ii. c. 18; "Hist. Eccles." x. c. 9) simply records the death of the "tyrant."

[97] A most rare and interesting gold coin in the British Museum with the legend **RECTOR TOTIVS ORBIS**, and struck at Thessalonica (S. M. T.) where Licinius I. was killed, testifies to this fact. A description of this piece, with an historical commentary and a table of the political division of the empire from the time of Diocletian to that of Theodosius the Great, in illustration of the "totus orbis" of Constantine the Great, may be found in my paper in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 48, *seq.* The coins with the title **VICT.** (Victor) formerly assigned to Constantine I. are now attributed by M. Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 222, *note* 1), on apparently valid grounds, to Constantine II., who adds to his arguments the fact that "the title of *Victor* belonged or was given to the sons of Constantine," and it also occurs on the coins of Constantius II. (Nos. 171, 196, 198). I may, however, observe that Eusebius specially states that the title of *Victor* was adopted by Constantine I. as a fitting appellation to express the victory which God had granted him over all his enemies (ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρέπων ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ βασιλεὺς, (ταύτην γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κυριώτατα τὴν ἐπηγορίαν εὕρατο, τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ δεδομένης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ἐχθρῶν τε καὶ πολεμίων νίκης ἕνεκα) τὴν ἑῴαν ἀπελάμβανε. "Vit. Const." ii. c. 19); and the laws of Constantine respecting piety towards God, the building of churches, and the errors of polytheism, as given by Eusebius ("Vit. Const." ii. c. 24, 46, 48, 64, &c.) commence ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ Κωνσταντῖνος μέγιστος σεβαστὸς (*Victor* Constantinus Maximus Augustus). Cf. Socrat., "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 7, 9, 34. According to Eusebius ("Vit. Const." ii. c. 23) Constantine caused a declaration, proclaiming God to be the author of his prosperity, and written both in the Latin and Greek languages, to be transmitted through every province of his empire, which declaration—given in a later chapter (c. 42)—is said to have been attested by a signature in the Emperor's own handwriting (c. 23).

A.D.

324. Licinius I. was put to death, as previously stated.

325. Constantine summoned the Council of Nice.[98]

Vicennalia of Constantine.

Edict to abolish gladiators.[99]

326. Constantine celebrates his *Vicennalia* at Rome.

Constantine orders the death of Crispus and Licinius II.

Edict against the heretics.[100]

327. Constantine orders the death of Fausta.

Death of Helena, the mother of Constantine, about this time, or in 328, at the age of eighty.[101]

Foundation of *Helenopolis*.[102]

330. Dedication of Constantinople.

Here Constantine abolished idolatry and built churches,[103]

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[98] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. c. 6. For a full account of this celebrated council see Lardner, "Credibility," vol. iv. p. 55, *seq.*

[99] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 25; Socrat., "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 18; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 8. The combats of gladiators were, however, continued till the reign of Honorius (404), who abolished them. Dr. Smith (Gibbon, "Rom. Emp." vol. iv. p. 41, *note*) observes that they existed down to the year 455. Cf. Lactantius, "Inst." vi. c. 20. Constantine also abolished the punishment of the cross,—"Eo pius, ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium patibulum et crucibus suffringendis primus removerit. Hinc [illegible] aut deo creditus."—Aur. Vict., "Cæs." c. 41; cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 8. I am unable to name the exact year, but it was probably about this time.

[100] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. c. 63—66. Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 382. Discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and erection of churches at Jerusalem and elsewhere ("Vit. Const." iii. c. 25—41).

[101] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. 46.

[102] Its original name was *Drepanum* or *Drepane* (Socrat., "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 17), and it was the birth-place of Helena. Justinian improved the town, but it eventually became so reduced as to be called in mockery ἐλεεινοῦ πόλις (Smith, "Dict. of Geog.," *s. v.* Helenopolis).

[103] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. c. 48.

and placed a representation of the *cross*, composed of a variety of precious stones richly wrought with gold, in the principal room of his palace.[104] He also ordered fifty copies of the Bible to be prepared, to be used in the churches.[105] A.D.

Edict against the heathen temples.[106] **331.**

Gothic war conducted by Constantine II.[107] **332.**

Constans made *Cæsar*.[108] **333.**

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[104] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. c. 49.

[105] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 36, 37. Many Pagan statues were removed to Constantinople for public exposure (Euseb., "Vit. Const." iii. c. 54). Constantine further erected a magnificent church at Nicomedia, and a house of prayer at Mamre (c. 51) where Abraham had entertained God in his tent (Gen. xviii. 1), and overthrew several heathen temples, notably some dedicated to Venus at Aphaca in Syria (c. 55; *Aphek*, Josh. xix. 30; Judg. i. 31), and at Heliopolis (c. 58), here building a Christian church, and to Æsculapius at Ægæ, in Cilicia (c. 56). Cf. Socrat., "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 18; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." ii. c. 4, 5.

[106] Clinton, F. R. vol. ii. p. 88.

[107] See *note* 92.

[108] An imperial decree, issued after 333 in the names of Constantine I., Constantine II., Constantius II, and Constans, permits the Ispellati of Umbria to erect a temple *ea observatione perscripta ne aedis nostro nomini dedicata cujusquam contagiose* (sic) *superstitionis fraudibus polluatur* (Orelli, "Inscr.," No. 5,580). The reading **AEDIS** for **AEDES** may be compared with **COMIS** for **COMES** on a gold coin of Constantine I. (see under § V. "Coins of Constantine I. of the *Mars* and *Sol invictus* types") and with **EQVIS ROMANVS** for **EQVES** on another gold coin (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 8). Cavedoni ("Rivista," p. 224, *note* 6) considers that this latter coin was probably struck for the *transvectio equitum* in 326 (Zosimus, "Hist." ii. 29), but Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii. p. 83) has suggested that the term may allude to the *Princeps Juventutis*, "quo Constantinus titulo, etiam cum Augustus jam esset, in numis frequenter utitur, adludit, atque hic κατ' ἐξοχήν appellatur **EQVIS ROMANVS**, cum Princeps Juventutis idem esset ac Princeps Equestris Ordinis," an inter-

A.D. 335. *Tricennalia* of Constantine.[109] Council of Tyre and of Jerusalem. Christian churches ordered to be erected.[110]

Delmatius created *Cæsar*, and Hanniballian *King*.[111] The former obtains Eastern Illyricum, Greece, and Thrace; the latter Pontus, Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, while Constantine I. and his son Constantius II. administered the remaining provinces of the eastern part of the empire. At the same time the provinces which afterwards formed the Western Empire are divided between Constantine II. and Constans, the former taking the share of Constantius Chlorus, *i.e.* Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana, and the latter Italy, Africa, Rhætia, and Western Illyricum.

336. Marriage of Constantius II.[112]

337. This year Constantine I. began to feel signs of failing health, and visited Helenopolis, where he is said to have for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer—in fact became a catechumen; after which he proceeded to Nicomedia, where he was baptized by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, though he had intended to

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pretation considered by Dr. A. von Sallet, who has published this coin ("Zeits. für Num." vol. iii. p. 130, Berlin, 1875), to be the correct one. It is certainly preferable to that offered by Cavedoni.

[109] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 40.

[110] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 42—47.

[111] Gibbon ("Rom. Emp." vol. ii. p. 355) disbelieves that Constantine distinguished Hanniballian by the detested title of *king*, and this in the face of coins with the legend **FL. HANNIBALLIANO REGI**, and the opinion of contemporary authors. Dean Milman (Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 356 *note* a) considers Gibbon's statement "a strange abuse of the privilege of doubting."

[112] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 49. The name of his wife is unknown.

defer this rite till he could have been baptized in the river Jordan.[113]

Death of Constantine I. at noon on the Feast of Pentecost.[114]

Murder of Delmatius, Hanniballian, and other members of the Imperial family, except Julian and Gallus.

Constantine II., Constantius II., and Constans declared *Augusti.*

From these statements it would appear that Constantine the Great was converted to Christianity about the year 312,[115] and that his colleague Licinius I. pretended to

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[113] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 61, and *note* by Heinichen; c. 62 and 63. Socrates, "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 39. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles." ii. c. 34; Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 32. Theodosius also did not receive the rite of baptism till his last moments (Socrates, "Hist. Eccles." v. c. 6). Ancient antiquaries, in support of the baptism of Constantine, used to quote some coins with the supposed legend **BAP. NAT.**, but Hardouin—for once forgetting his usual insane conjectures—showed that the legends of the coins ran **CONSTANTINO P. AVG. B. RP. NAT.**, and that they should be interpreted, **B***ono* **R***ei***P***ublicæ* **NAT***o* (Cohen, Nos. 239, 240; vol. vi. p. 130, *note;* Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii. p. 82). Cohen (No. 432) gives from *Banduri*, after *Hardouin*, a piece with the legend **PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS B. RP. NAT.** The legend **BONO REIPVBLICAE NATI** occurs on a gold coin of Flavius Victor, representing himself and his father Magnus Maximus (Cohen, No. 1). The small brass of Attalus with this legend given by Cohen (No. 11) from *D'Ennery* is most likely a cast from the gold coin of Victor. On coins of Placidia and Honoria may be found **BONO REIPVBLICAE** (Cohen, Nos. 2 and 1). See § XVIII. "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine I."

[114] Euseb., "Vit. Const." iv. c. 64. See *note* 35.

[115] Lardner ("Credibility," vol. viii. pp. 96, 99) considers from the fact of Zosimus complaining that the festival of the secular games, which should have been celebrated in 313,

embrace the same faith at or about the same period.[116] Still many acts of the reign of Constantine after this date show that he acted in anything but a Christian spirit. There may be specially mentioned[117] (1) the murder of Licinius I. in 324, after he had promised him his life;[118] (2) the murder of his son Crispus and the young Licinius in 326, the latter a boy of eleven years of age;[119] and (3) the murder of his wife Fausta in 327.[120]

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being omitted by Constantine, that at this date Constantine was in any case a Christian.

[116] "The murders of the unoffending Severianus, son of the Emperor Severus, of Candidianus, son of his friend and benefactor Galerius, of Prisca and of Valeria, the wife and daughter of Diocletian, form a climax of ingratitude and cold-blooded ferocity to which few parallels can be found, even in the revolting annals of the Roman Empire" (the late Prof. Ramsay, Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Licinius I.).

[117] Besides those alluded to in the text may be recorded the murder of Maximian Hercules, his wife's father, and of Bassianus, the husband of his half-sister Anastasia. See *note* 54.

[118] See *note* 96.

[119] Gibbon ("Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 352, *note* 18) conjectures from the obscure law of the Theodosian code (ix. 37) that Crispus had married Helena, the daughter of Licinius I., and that on the happy delivery of the princess in 322 a *general pardon* was granted by Constantine; but this is very doubtful, and the coin attributed by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. pp. 102, 143, 145) to this Helena, with the letters **N.F.** (*Nobilissima femina*) certainly belongs to Helena, the mother of Constantine (Madden, "Handbook of Rom. Num.," p. 169; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. v. p. 588). See § VIII. "Coins of Helena and Theodora."

[120] The murder of Fausta, according to Zosimus (ii. 29; cf. Vict., "Epit.") was at the instigation of Helena. Gibbon ("Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. pp. 354, 355) thinks that there is reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that she escaped the blind and suspicious cruelty of her husband, and apparently principally on a statement in an oration pronounced during the succeeding reign ("Monod. in Constantin. Jun. c. 4, ad Calcem Eutrop.," edit. Havercamp.). But Cavedoni asserts, ("Ri-

Respecting the general character of Constantine, Niebuhr writes as follows[121]:—"Many judge of him by too severe a standard, because they look upon him as a Christian; but I cannot regard him in that light. The religion which he had in his head must have been a strange compound indeed. The man who had on his coins the inscription *Sol invictus*, who worshipped pagan divinities, consulted the haruspices, indulged in a number of pagan superstitions, and on the other hand built churches, shut up pagan temples, and interfered with the council of Nicæa, must have been a repulsive phenomenon, and was certainly not a Christian. He did not allow himself to be baptized till the last moments of his life, and those who praise him for this do not know what they are doing. He was a superstitious man, and mixed up his Christian religion with all kinds of absurd superstitions and opinions. When, therefore, certain Oriental writers call him ἰσαπόστολος[122] they do not know what they are saying, and to speak of him as a saint is a profanation of the word."

At the same time a heathen writer, Eutropius, speaks of Constantine in the highest terms, and says that in the

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cerche," p. 4, *note*) that the supposed *Monodia* on the death of Constantine Junior has been proved by Wesseling to have been written on the death of Theodorus Palæologus *about the middle of the fifteenth century* ("Anonymi Orat. Fun.," ed. Frotschero); whilst Manso ("Lebens Constantins," p. 65) treats the suggestion with contempt. It is, however, quite true that there is a great want of positive proof on this question.

[121] "Hist. of Rom." vol. v. p. 359.

[122] Constantine and his mother Helena ἰσαπόστολοι are commemorated May 21, June 18, and March 24. In another calendar, the Georgian, Constantine is commemorated alone on November 16 (Rev. S. Cheetham, Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* Constantine the Great).

former part of his reign he must be reckoned among the best princes, and for the latter part among the middle sort, and that he was distinguished by many excellent qualities, both of body and of mind.[123]

In the numismatic studies now about to follow, it will be seen whether Constantine the Great ordered to be placed on the imperial coinage, either openly or latently, any Christian emblems, from the time when he first professed Christianity in 312, or whether he deferred so doing till 323, after the defeat of Licinius, when, as "ruler of the whole world," he could dare without opposition to inscribe upon his coins the symbols of the true religion of Christ.

A curtailed genealogical table of Constantine I. and his family is appended for reference.

§ II.—COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND LICINIUS I.

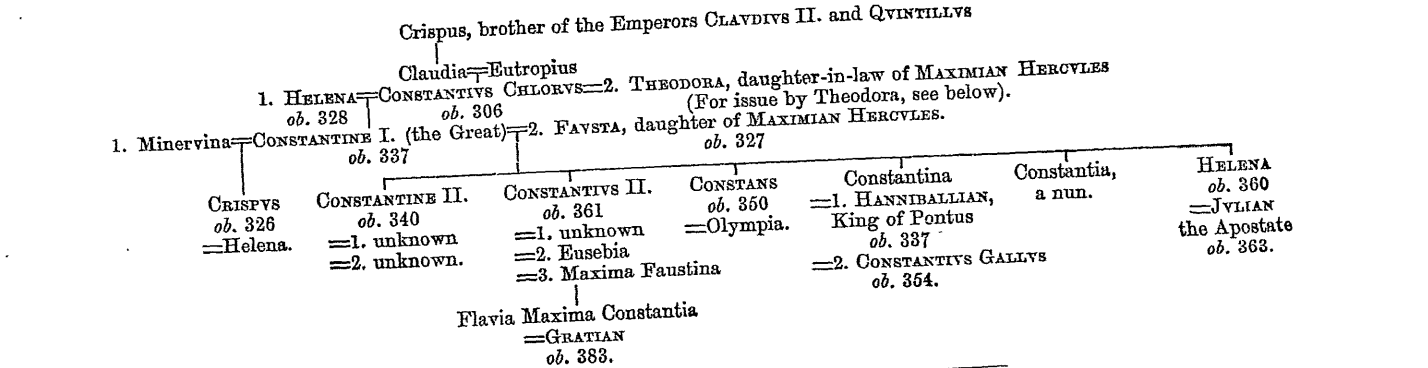
(?) 312—(?) 317.

1. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. armed in cuirass with the shoulder belt, holding a spear slanting over right shoulder, and on the left a shield on which is figured a horseman striking with a spear a barbarian. The head is covered with a helmet divided in the middle by a large band, on which is engraved the monogram ☧ between two stars.

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[123] "Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus," &c., x. 6, 7. Gibbon ("Rom. Emp." vol. ii. p. 346, *note* 3) suspects that Eutropius had originally written "*vix* mediis," and that the offensive monosyllable was dropped by the wilful inadvertency of transcribers. Victor ("Epit.") says, "Irrisor potius quam blandus, unde proverbio vulgari *Trachala* decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus *latro*, decem novissimis *pupillus* ob profusiones immodicas nominatus;" but the meaning of the proverb is obscure.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



* The three sons of Theodora are in the "Alexandrian Chronicle" distinguished as *Delmatius*, *Constantius*, and *Hannibalianus;* but by Zonaras they are named *Constantinus*, *Hannibalianus*, and *Constantius*, while Theophanes expressly asserts that Hanniballianus is the same with Delmatius. The conflicting evidence has been carefully examined by Tillemont, who decides in favour of the "Alexandrian Chronicle," but the question is involved in much obscurity.—(The late Professor Ramsay, Smith's "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* "Hannibalianus.")

Note.—The names in small capitals show those of whom coins are known to exist.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** Two victories supporting a shield, placed on a pedestal; on the shield **VOT. P. R.**; on the pedestal an **I**; in the exergue **B. SIS.** (2 *Siscià*). Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 237, No. 1, who adds, "first published by Angelo Breventano (Macar. 'Hagioglypta,' 1856, p. 159), in whose possession it was, whence it passed into the hands of Fulvius Ursinus, where Baronius saw it and had it drawn in his 'Ecclesiastical Annals' (ad ann. 312, p. 510). Another example is inserted by Sada in his 'Dialoghi dell' Agostini' (p. 17, Roma, 1592). A third Tanini had in his Museum ('Supplem. ad Banduri, Num. Imp. Rom.,' p. 275), and a fourth came into the hands of Caronni, who describes and engraves it in the 'Mus. Hederv.,' Nos. 3996, 3971. These authors agree in the design and description with the exception of Sada, who omits **IMP.**, and writes **PRINCI.**, and Caronni, who leaves out **VOT.**; but as to the monogram between two stars there is no difference, either in the descriptions or figures. In all probability, however, the monogram was not composed of the **X** and **P**, but of **X** and **I**, with a small pellet near or on its extremity, which both ancient and modern authors usually represent by the equivalent letter **P**." "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 81, No. 1; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 15, Nos. 18, 19, the latter having the obverse legend **IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG**, with neither the shield nor the stars.)

2. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the left armed with cuirass and with the shoulder belt, holding a spear slanting over right shoulder, and on the left a shield on which is a horseman striking with his spear a barbarian. The head is covered with a helmet divided in the middle by a large band on which is a crescent moon and a small globe; on each side of the band on the crown of the helmet the monogram ☧.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** Two victories supporting a shield placed on a pedestal; on the shield **VOT. P. R.**; on the pedestal

the letter **X**; in the exergue **B. SIS.** ✳ (2 *Siscià*). Æ.

(Pl. I., No. 1, from Paris.[124] Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 238, No. 2, from M. de Witte's *note* to M. Feuardent's paper in the "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 252, Pl. VII., No. 9; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 82, No. 2. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 509. A specimen of this coin having in the exergue **Δ. SIS.** (4 *Siscià*), in the collection of the Marquis de Lagoy, is described in the "Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 196.)

I must add that Garrucci does not quite accept the monogram ☧ on this coin, preferring to describe it as ☧, and I quite agree with him. On another example, published and engraved by Garrucci, Plate No. 1, the imperial bust is covered with the *paludamentum*, and on the reverse the pedestal is ornamented with a festoon instead of **X**. The monogram on the helmet is given as ✳, but it only occurs on one side of the band; on the other is a globe and some pellets, or a *star with six rays*. It is issued at another mint, the letters **T. T.** (*Tertia Tarracone*) being in the exergue. I give a representation from a specimen in the British Museum [Pl. I., No. 2]. (Cf. "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 83; Pl. II., No. 1. It is here stated that on another specimen with **S. T.** in the exergue the monogram is clearly ☧). On another specimen in the British Museum [Pl. I., No. 3] having the reverse legend **VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** and in the exergue **B. SIS** ✳, there is certainly a *star of eight rays*, thus ✳, on either side the band.[125] The Marquis de Lagoy notes[126] that on some pieces of the same type struck at Treves (**S. TR.** *Secunda Treveris*) and at

[124] I have to thank M. Cohen for an impression of this coin, which is in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, and of eight others.

[125] A star of *eight rays* is said to occur on a coin of Licinius II. instead of the usual star of six rays. See § IV., No. 15.

[126] "Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 196.

Lyons (? London **P. LN.** *Prima Londinio*), instead of the monogram there is on the helmet a star of which the rays seem to take the form of a Maltese cross.

3. *Obv.*—**IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Licinius I. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** Two victories supporting a shield placed on a pedestal; on the shield **VOT. P. R.**; on the pedestal **X**; in the exergue **A SIS.** ✳ (1 *Siscia*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. I., No. 4.)

The cross (**X**) on the pedestal of the reverse of this coin is very like the one on that of Constantine I., also struck at Siscia (Pl. I., No. 1), and may be a Christian emblem or it may simply be intended for an ornamentation of the pedestal.[127]

§ III. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CRISPUS, AND CONSTANTINE II.

(?)317—323.

4. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Helmeted bust of Constantine I. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

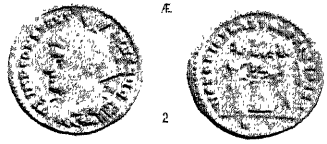
Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** Same type. On the pedestal an equilateral cross ✠. In the exergue **S. T.** (*Secunda Tarracone*). Æ.

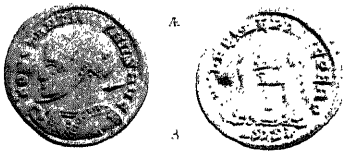
(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 239, No. 3,

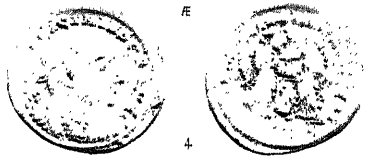
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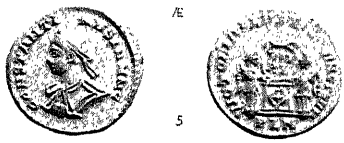
[127] The legend **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** occurs upon a gold coin of Licinius I., struck at Rome (**P. R.** *Prima Româ*), in the British Museum (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 30), and on many of his copper coins (Cohen, Nos. 139—143; "Suppl.," No. 5), and on some gold coins of Constantine I. struck at Rome (**P. R.** *Prima Româ*) or Tarraco (**S. M. T.** *Signata Moneta Tarracone*, Cohen, No. 134), and at Treves (**S. TR.**), described by Cohen (No. 135) from *Beger* with the title of **MAX.** and therefore not struck till 315, and on several of his brass coins with or without Christian emblems (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 505—517; "Suppl.," Nos. 37, 38).


Æ 1

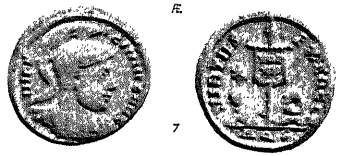

Æ 2

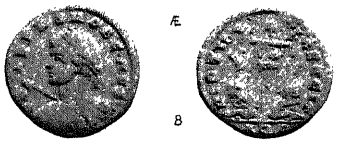

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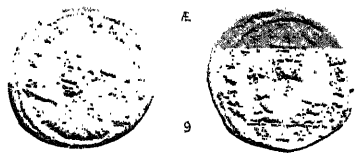

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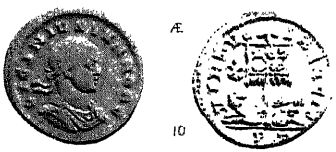

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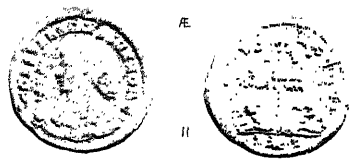

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Æ 7


Æ 8


Æ 9


Æ 10


Æ 11

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS
ON COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. ETC. PLATE I.

plate No. 2, from the collection of Signor L. Depoletti, dealer in Rome.[128] He adds, "On a specimen of this coin in the public museum at Bologna, the cross is also enlarged at the four extremities ✠. Cf. Cavedoni, 'Nuove Ricerche,' p. 11, *note*. In another specimen, instead of **S. T.** there is **P. T.** described by Hardouin ('Op. Sel.' p. 478), and Tanini, and from this differs the example of Muselli ('Num. Ant.' ii., tav. ccxlvii.; cf. iii. p. 309), with the exergual letters **T. T.** Hardouin here (cf. Tanini, p. 283, where **VOT. RR** is printed for **P R**) published two other specimens, the first from the mint of Arles, **P. ARL.**; the second from that of London (?) **P. LN**; in this one the **IMP.** on the obverse is wanting. Different also in the type of the obverse is the one described by Tanini at p. 267, where we read **CONSTANTINVS AVG.** and the Emperor is armed with the cuirass, spear, and shield. On the reverse is **P. R.** on the shield, and in the exergue **S. T.**")

5. *Obv.*—**D. N. CRISPO NOB. CAES.** Head of Crispus to the right.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** Two victories supporting shield with **VOT P.R.** on the pedestal, on which an equilateral cross. In the exergue (?) Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 239, No. 4, from Tanini, p. 283. "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 84, No. 4. No exergual letters given.)

6. *Obv.* **FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. radiated to the right, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE LAETAE. PRINC. PERP.** Two victories supporting a shield, on which is **VOT. P.R.** on a pedestal, which has on it an equilateral cross; in the exergue **P. LN.** (*Prima Londinio*). Æ.

[128] The reverse of this coin is described and engraved in the "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 83, No. 3, Pl. II. No. 2, as **VICTORIAI LAITAI** (*sic*) or **LEITAI** (*sic*) **PRINC. PERP.**

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 239, No. 5, from Tanini, p. 289; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 84, No. 5. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp." Nos. 178, 179, who writes, "Quelquefois sur l'autel X." These coins have on the obverse the title **D. N.** (*Dominus noster*), which was first introduced by Diocletian.)

7. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the left, radiated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**VICTORIAE**, &c., same type; on pedestal an equilateral cross + within a wreath. In the exergue **P. LN.** (*Prima Londinio*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. I., No. 5.)

Very similar coins to Nos. 1 and 2 struck at Siscia (one with **A. SIS**) are published by Cavedoni,[129] with the monogram ☧ on the helmet, and are apparently accepted by him, though a little later,[130] alluding to the coin mentioned by M. de Witte, he says the monograms seem more like *stars* or monograms composed of the Greek letters **I** and **X**, the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς; whilst in his review of Garrucci's second edition of the "Numismatica Costantiniana"[131] he states that the authorities quoted are not reliable, and that in all probability the monograms are really *stars of six equal rays*, or at the utmost monograms composed of **I** and **X**. But the monogram seems to take the form of ✳ [see Pl. I., Nos. 6 to 11].

Respecting the date of issue of the coins above described, Cavedoni was of opinion[132] that all the coins with the reverse legend **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.**[133] were struck previous in any case to the year 330,

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[129] "Ricerche," p. 15.
[130] "Ricerche," p. 20.
[131] "Disamina," p. 217.
[132] "Ricerche," p. 16.
[133] Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 1st. ed., p. 90) interprets **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC***ipum* **PERP***etuæ*; but Cavedoni ("Appendice," p. 6, *note*) prefers to read **PRINC***ipis*

for none bear the mint-mark of Constantinople (**CONST.** *sic*); in fact, that in all probability they were struck previous to the year 326, as many similar coins exist with the bust and inscription of Crispus, who was not put to death till that year. When he wrote his "Appendix" he added[134] that some may have existed previous to 323, as there are similar specimens bearing the effigy of Constantine II., and none are known of Constantius II., made *Cæsar* in that same year. This is the opinion that Garrucci[135] has also arrived at, and there seems no good reason for rejecting it. The coin (No. 4) bearing as it does the title of **MAX.** (*Maximus*), might have been issued in 315, in which year the Senate granted him that title,[136] whilst the coins of Constantine I. (Nos. 1 and 2) might even be as early as 312, and those of Crispus and Constantine II. (Nos. 5, 6, and 7) as early as 317. They are all

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PERP*etui*, from a comparison of the coins on which Constantine takes the title of **P***er***P***etuus* **AVG***ustus*, as also from the words of the 10th *carmen* of Optazianus—"Domino nostro Constantino **PERPETVO AVGVSTO**." I hardly know to which coins of Constantine Cavedoni alludes, and I am not so sure that his interpretation is correct, for the word *perpetua* on other coins is made to agree with *victoria*—**VICTORIAE PERPETVAE** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 137, 519; cf. **FELICITAS PERPETVA SAECVLI**, No. 51; **VIRT. PERP. CONSTANTINI AVG.**, No. 523). Besides, how is the legend to be interpreted on the coins of Licinius I. and II., Crispus, and Constantine II.? The panegyric of Optazianus has been published and numismatically illustrated by Cavedoni in a paper entitled, "Disquisizioni critiche numismatiche sopra il Panegyrico poetico di Costantino Magno presentatogli da Poblilio Optaziano Porfirio nell' anno 326," in the "Opusc. Relig. Lett. e Morali," I. iii. pp. 321—342, Modena, 1858.

[134] "Appendice," p. 6.

[135] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 239; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 84.

[136] See § I. under the year 315.

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probably anterior to 319, and certainly precede the year 323.[137]

The first two coins are interesting, as confirming the words of Eusebius, who tells us that Constantine, after his vision, not only ordered the monogram of Christ to be placed upon the *labarum*, but also that the emperor was in the habit of wearing it upon his *helmet*.[138]

It will be observed that on No. 2 there is a crescent moon and a *little globe* on the band of the helmet, and that on another similar example there is a *globe* and some *little pellets* or a *star*. Many of the coins of Constantine show the helmet ornamented in this manner, and these are no doubt intended to represent *gems*, according to the account of his panegyrist Nazarius,[139] whilst according to Philostorgius the holy sign seen in the sky by Constantine was surrounded by *stars* that enriched it as a rainbow.[140]

The words **VICTORIAE LAETAE** may be compared[141] to the scriptural expressions "*Lætabor* ego super eloquia tua: sicut qui invenit spolia multa" (Psalm cxviii. 162), or "*Lætabuntur*. . . . sicut exultant *victores* capta præda, quando dividunt spolia" (Isaiah ix. 3), and to the line of Horace, "Momento cita mors venit, aut *victoria læta*."[142]

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[137] See § V. "Coins with the *Mars* and *Sol Invictus* types."

[138] "Α δὴ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους φέρειν εἴωθε κἂν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεύς.—"Vit. Const." i. c. 31. Sozomen ("Hist. Eccles." i. c. 8) says that "Constantine commanded that the divine symbol (namely the cross) should be affixed to his image on *coins* and pictures, and that this fact is attested by the relics of this kind which are in existence."

[139] "Fulget galea et corusca luce gemmarum divinum verticem monstrat," xxix. 5.

[140] Καὶ ἀστέρων αὐτῶν κύκλῳ περιθέοντων ἴριδος τρόπῳ. "Hist. Eccles." i. c. 6; cf. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 15, *note*. See under § IX. "Coins with *Constantinopolis* and *Roma*."

[141] Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 16; "Disamina," p. 212.

[142] "I. Sat." i. 8.

§ IV. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., LICINIUS I., CRISPUS, LICINIUS II., AND CONSTANTINE II. (?) 319—323.

8. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Helmeted bust of Constantine I. to the right with cuirass.

   Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Standard, at the foot of which two captives seated; on the standard **VOT. XX.** In the field to left ☧. In the exergue **A. SIS.** (1 *Siscià*). Æ.

   (Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 240, No. 6, Pl. No. 3 from the Museo Kircheriano; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 85, No. 6, Pl. II. No. 3.)

9. *Obv.*—**IMP. LICINIVS AVG.** Helmeted bust of Licinius I. to the right with cuirass.

   Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue **TS. A.** (*Thessalonica* 1). Æ.

   (Pl. I., No. 6 from Paris. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 240, No. 7, Pl. No. 4, from the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 85, No. 7, Pl. II. No. 4.)

10. *Obv.* **IMP. LICINIVS AVG.** Helmeted bust of Licinius I. to the right with cuirass.

    Rev. **VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue **AQ. S.** (*Aquileiâ Secunda*). Æ.

    (British Museum, Pl. I. No. 7.)

11. *Obv.*—**CRISPVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Crispus to the left, laureated, with cuirass, and holding a spear and a shield.

    Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue **AQ. P.** (*Aquileiâ Prima*). Æ.

    (British Museum, Pl. I. No. 8.)

12. *Obv.*—**CRISPVS NOB. CAES.** Same type as No. 11.

    Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ☧. In the exergue **AQ. T.** (*Aquileiâ Tertia*). Æ.

(Pl. I. No. 9, from Paris. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 240, No. 9, Pl. No. 6, from the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 85, No. 9, Pl. II. No. 6; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 132, publishes a similar coin, adding "quelquefois dans le champ le ✳." He apparently erroneously gives **CAE.** instead of **CAES.** on the obverse.)

13. *Obv.* **LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C.** Bust of Licinius II. to the right, laureated, with cuirass and *paludamentum*.

Rev. **VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ✳. In the exergue **P. T.** (*Prima Tarracone*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. I. No. 10. Cf. Cohen, "Med. Imp." No. 53.)

14. *Obv.*—**LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C.** Bust of Licinius II. to the left, laureated, with cuirass, holding a globe surmounted by a victory.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field to left ✳. In the exergue **T. T.** (*Tertia Tarracone*). Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 240, No. 8, Pl. No. 5, from the collection of Sig. Luigi Depoletti; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 85, No. 8, Pl. II. No. 5; cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp." No. 52.)

15. *Obv.*—**LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C.** Same type as No. 14.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field a *star with eight rays*. In the exergue (?) Æ.

(Cohen, "Suppl.," No. 3, from the collection of M. Poydenot.)

16. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the left, laureated and with cuirass, holding a globe surmounted by a victory.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type as No. 8. In the field ✳ or ✳. In the exergue **P.** ✳ **T.** (*Prima Tarracone*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. I. No. 11. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 240, No. 10, Pl.

No. 7, gives an example with **S. T.** in the exergue, from the collection of Signor Lovatti; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 86, No. 10, Pl. II. No. 7; he also observes that in another specimen almost identical in the collection of Firrao there are the letters **TS. B.** Cf. Muselli, Pl. CCL. 5; but here Beger and Hardouin are wrongly cited, for they do not describe any coin of this prince marked with the monogram.)

With reference to the above described coins of Constantine I., Licinius I., and their sons *Cæsars*, several of which were published by Garrucci in the first edition of his "Numismatica Constantiniana,"[143] Cavedoni was of opinion[144] that the supposed monogram was nothing but a *star of six rays*, and again in reviewing the second edition of Garrucci's work he says[145] that having had good impressions of the coins of Crispus and Licinius *Cæsars* forwarded to him from Paris by M. Cohen, he still thinks that the sign has not the form given to it in Garrucci's plate, but that it resembles *a star of six rays, terminating all six in a globule*, so that it would indeed seem to be a star. He, however, confesses that on the coin of Crispus the vertical line is notably longer than the other two which intersect it, whence it may be taken for a monogram composed of the two Greek letters **I** and **X**, the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, a monogram anterior in Rome to the time of Constantine, as it may be met with on the monuments of the cemeteries of the years 268 and 279.[146] To which observations Garrucci replied[147] that the line is equally long in the similar coins of the two Constantines, father and son, not seen by Cavedoni, and

[143] P. 9.
[144] "Appendice," p. 2.
[145] "Disamina," p. 218.
[146] De Rossi, "Inscr. Christ.," vol. i. p. 16, No. 10.
[147] "Diss. Arch.," p. 26.

that on the two coins of the Licinii there is on the top of the vertical line not a small pellet, but *a little circle*, and that consequently it is impossible to explain the monogram ☧ [or ☧] as a star; further, that the drawings given by him are correct representations of the originals.

From the coins of this series which I have been able to examine (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 16, Pl. I. Nos. 6 to 11), it seems perfectly clear that the form is ☧, the vertical line terminating in a globule or circle.

M. Cohen[148] agrees with Cavedoni that the sign is a *star*, which view he considers confirmed by the coin of Licinius II. (No. 15), which has a *star of eight rays*. But if Cohen allows that the monogram ☧ occurs on a coin of Crispus (No. 12), then there is no reason why it or ☧ or ☧ should not occur on the coins above described. The piece with *eight rays* proves nothing, and we have seen that on the helmet of Constantine I. there was sometimes placed a *star of eight rays* instead of the Christian monogram (Pl. I. No. 3).

I do not myself see any reason to doubt that these signs were intended for the Christian monogram, though at this period of the reign of Constantine expressed on the coinage in somewhat a latent manner.

This series was probably introduced about the year 319. It is anterior to 323, coins of both the Licinii being common to it, whilst those of Constantius II., *Cæsar*, are wanting.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(To be continued.)

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[148] "Méd. Imp." vol. vi. p. 83, *note*; "Suppl." p. 375, *note*.

III.

NOTES TOWARDS A METALLIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

No. I.

In laying some notes relating to the medals of Scotland before the Numismatic Society, I shall esteem it a very great favour if any of the members, or others interested in the subject, can assist me with any information. I propose to group the various pieces under the following heads:—

A. Medals of the Royal House of Stuart, previous to the Accession of James VI.

B. Medals of the Sovereigns of Great Britain, specially relating to Scotland.

C. Medals of the Stuart Family after the Revolution.

D. Medals of Illustrious Scottish persons.

E. Medals relating to local events.

F. Provincial Tokens.

G. Parish or Sacramental Tokens.

H. Pattern Pieces, Touch Pieces, Badges, &c.

The following medals belong to the first branch of the subject:—

James I.

1. *Obv.*—Within a beaded circle with outer and inner lines, the king's bust, three-quarters face to the right, with low bonnet and apparently a studded circlet. Hair flowing loosely on the shoulders: moustache, whiskers, and beard divided into two peaks (as on some of the St. Andrews of Robert III. and James II.). Loose robe, with collar rolled back at the throat and laced across the chest.

JACOBUS PRIMUS.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle with outer and inner lines, the following legend:—

NAT. JUL.
MCCCXCIV.
CORONAT 21 MAII
MCCCCXXIV.
APERDUELLIBUS
CONFOSSUS 20 FEB
MCCCCXXXVII.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*, unknown.

From the style and lettering this is a cast of modern, and probably foreign workmanship.

I am not aware of any medals of James II. Of his successor the following one is recorded.

James III.

1. *Obv.*—The king on his throne, beardless, with long hair, holding in one hand a naked sword, in the other a shield with the arms of Scotland. On the canopy above the throne the legend IN MY DEFFEN; above the canopy, VILLA BERWICI.

MONETA NOVA IACOBI TERTII DEI GRATIA REGIS SCOTIE.

Rev.—St. Andrew on the cross.

SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DOMINE.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. *Weight*, 2 oz.
Cabinet, unknown. *Artist*, unknown.

This medal is described by Du Cange in his Traité

Historique du Chef de St. Jean Baptiste" (p. 128, Paris, 1665), and is stated to have been presented by James III. in 1477 to the shrine of St. John at Amiens (Tytler, vol. iii. p. 247). It is noticed by Pinkerton ("Essay on Medals," vol. ii. p. 143, London, 1808), who says that it was lost during the first French Revolution. It is remarkable that "Tertius" is given on this medal, and is not found on the coins; and the title "Rex Scotiæ," which does not occur on the coinage after the death of David I. till the accession of James VI. to the throne of England. I am not aware of any figure of this medal.

James IV.

Of James IV. the first medal which merits attention is figured at p. 27 of the "Sylloge Numismatum" by Luckius, published in 1620. It is said to have been struck by that monarch on his expedition against the English in 1513.

1. *Obv.*—The king's bust regarding the right, in armour, crowned with a single arched crown, wearing the order of St. Michael. The legend is between an outer and inner line.

+ IACOBVS ·: IIII ·: DEI ·: GRATIA ·: REX ·: SCOTORVM ·:

Rev.—A double head wreathed with laurel, placed on a Doric pillar rising from an island, looking in opposite directions over a tranquil sea to distant land.

VTRVNQVE.

Metal, AR. *Size*, 1⅝ in.

Cabinet: Casts of it are common; the original is unknown. *Artist*, unknown.

The legend on the reverse is explained by Luckius as expressing the desire of the Scottish king, that while "Galliae and Angliae Reges inter se altercantur, *utrunque* ipse contundat."

The medal is figured by Evelyn in his "Numismata"

(London, 1697), p. 88; and also by Ruddiman in his preface to Anderson's "Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus" (Edinburgh, 1739), p. 68; but the latter omits the triangles of pellets between the words of the obverse legend. Pinkerton, in his "Essay on Medals," describes this medal, and considers it as of genuine Scottish work, though he admits that others consider it (with every probability) to be of foreign origin. It is also mentioned by Nicolson in "The Scottish Historical Library" (London, 1702), p. 317.

2. Another medal of James IV., without a reverse, is figured by Heræus (Pl. XXII), and presents on the obverse the same type, but is of larger size ($2\frac{1}{16}$ in.), and shows more of the king's bust.

In the Museum Collection there is a bronze medal of James IV., apparently of the same series as the medal of James I. already described.

3. *Obv.*—Within a beaded circle with outer and inner lines, the king's bust three-quarters to the left, with a low bonnet ornamented with a rose; long hair flowing loosely on the shoulders; clothed in a loose robe open at the throat.

JACOBUS QUARTUS.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle between outer and inner lines, the following legend:—

NAT. 30 MART.
MCCCCLXXII.
CORONAT. 24 IUNII
MCCCCLXXXVIII.
AD FLOUDONEM
CÆSUS 9 SEPT.
MDXIII.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*,[1] unknown.

[1] The above medal, like that of James I. and the other one (to be described) of James V., is evidently of modern foreign work.

After the death of James IV., the Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, brother of James III., was made Regent. During his regency the following medal was struck.

1. *Obv.*—The arms of the Duke and Duchess in a shield crowned, suppressing a cross.

· IOANNIS · ALBANIE · DVC · GVBERN

Rev.—The Holy Spirit as a dove surmounting the Duke's arms encircled with a collar of escallop shells; the date 1524.

✣ SVB VMBRA TVARVM.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{4}{10}$ in. *Weight*, 206 grs.
Cabinets: Soc. Ant. Scot.; Hunterian; Bib. Nat., Paris.

The specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris has three annulets at the end of the reverse legend.

The Albany medal is figured in Anderson's "Thesaurus," Pl. CLIII., and described at p. 95. It is also mentioned by Nicolson ("Scot. Hist. Lib.," p. 299).

It was struck from gold found in Craufurd Moor (State Papers, Scotland, Hen. VIII., vol. v. p. 575).

James V.

A bronze medal of the same series as that of James I. and IV., already described, is in the British Museum. The others of the same series probably exist.

1. *Obv.*—Within a beaded circle with outer and inner lines, the king's bust, three-quarters face to the left, with low bonnet and feather; short curled hair, moustache and whiskers; clothed. An order or medal suspended from the neck.

JACOBUS QUINTUS.

Rev.—Within a beaded circle with outer and inner lines the legend

NAT. 10 APR.
MDXII.
CORONAT. OCT.
MDXIII.
MORT. 14 DEC.
MDXLII.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{3}{10}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*, unknown.

2. In the work of Heræus, there is the obverse of a medal of James V. The type is something like the gold coins, and the date is the same as the later issue of the bonnet pieces, viz. 1540. The crown on the medal is, however, different from the bonnet of the gold coins.

In 1536 James V. married Magdalen, the daughter of Francis I., King of France. The following medal was struck on the occasion of the marriage, "et magna vi nummorum per populum sparsa."—"Promptuarium Iconum Insigniorum" (1553), p. 243.

3. *Obv.*—The queen's bust slightly turned to the left; head-dress. Bodice open at the bosom, with necklace.

MΛGDΛLENΛ SCOT. REGINΛ.

Rev.—Not given.

There are no other particulars as to size, weight, or metal of this medal given, and I am not aware of its being noticed by any other author than the one given above.

MARY.

The first piece which we meet with in this reign was probably meant for a pattern for the current coin of the realm, or for a jetton. Lindsay considered it to be the half of the testoon of 1553, and so describes it (Pl. VIII., Fig. 180). But it is quite certain from the records that no such piece was authorised or issued. And the register



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SCOTTISH MEDALS, PLATE I.

of the Mint of Paris contains a permission (obligingly communicated to me by M. Sudré, Keeper of the Archives of the Mint) for John Acheson, engraver of the Mint of Scotland, to engrave dies with the effigy of Queen Mary. It has been shown by Mr. Franks ("Proceedings of Soc. of Ant. of Scot.," vol. ix. p. 506) that this permission probably resulted in the dies for the testoon, and for this piece. From the similarity to the gold ryals of 1555, the type was probably afterwards adopted for that coinage.

1. *Obv.*—The queen's bust to the left, with necklace on the bosom as on the gold ryals of 1555.
MARIA · DEI · GRA · SCOTOR REGINA

Rev.—The arms of Scotland crowned between M and R.
IN · IVSTICIA · TVA · LIBERA · NOS · DNE · 1553 ·

Metal, R. *Size*, $\frac{19}{20}$ in.
Cabinet, HB.; from the Trattle sale (lot 1,252); previously in the collection of Philip le Neve, Esq. See Pl. II. 1.

The next piece bears the same date, and was executed by Nicolas Emery, Chief Engraver of the Mint at Paris. The permission is recorded in the French Register on the 31st January, 1553. The description in the Record differs from the piece, in having the queen's name and title as the legend, instead of the one which is found, but the piece is certainly the one authorised at the time. It was first noticed by Cardonnel (pp. 14, 93, Pl. VII. Fig. 1), to whom it was communicated by Mr. Fraser of Fraserfield. The real nature of the piece was suspected by Lindsay (p. 47), and made certain by the communication made by Mr. Franks to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, above noticed.

2. *Obv.*—F M in monogram crowned between two stars of six points waved.

DILIGITE ◊ IVSTICIAM ◊ 1553.

Rev.—The arms of Scotland crowned.

DELICIE ◊ DNI ◊ COR ◊ HVMILE ◊

Metal, R. *Size*, $1\frac{3}{20}$ in.
Cabinets: MB., Soc. Ant. Scot., and others. *Artist*, unknown. See Lindsay, Pl. VIII. 181.

Another jetton, which has no date, may with probability be assigned to about the same period.

3. *Obv.*—M crowned, between two thistle-heads crowned, with a pellet immediately below the centre crown.

✣ MARIA ◊ DEI ◊ G ◊ SCOTOR ◊ REGINA ◊

Rev.—The arms of Scotland crowned.

DELICIE ◊ DNI ◊ COR ◊ HVMILE ◊

Metal, R. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. and others. *Artist*, unknown. See Pembroke Plates, p. 4, t. 27, and Lindsay, Pl. VIII., Fig. 182.

The design of this piece was partially adopted for the silver coinage of 1555.

To this period may also probably be assigned the following very rare and hitherto unpublished jetton :—

4. *Obv.*—Shield of arms crowned.

· M · D · G · SCOT · R · DELPHINA · VIEN

Rev.—M crowned between two thistle-heads crowned.

✣ IN ◊ MY ◊ DEFFEN ◊ GOD ◊ MY ◊ DEFFEND

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Cabinet, M. Preux. *Artist*, unknown. See Pl. II. 2.

This monogram was a favourite one of Mary's. It is on her hand-bell preserved at Kennet, and also on the signet ring now in the British Museum. It is composed of the Greek letters Φ and M, and stands, no doubt, for F. M. ("Arch. Journal," vol. xv. p. 263).

A silver medal of Francis and Mary occurs in 1558. It is figured by Le Blanc (p. 268, No. 2), who thinks it, but erroneously, a testoon; Evelyn (p. 92) calls it a medal; Anderson gives it (Pl. CLXIII., Fig. 8, p. 101), copied from Le Blanc, and also calls it a testoon; Snelling (p. 15) falls into the same mistake; Cardonnel (p. 16, Pl. VII., Fig. 13) more properly considers it a medal.

5 (*a*). *Obv.*—The king's and queen's busts, face to face, beneath a crown.

FRAN . ET . MA . D . G . R . R . SCOTOR℞ . DELPHIN . VIEN

Rev.—The arms of Francis and Mary beneath a crown, between F and M crowned.

FECIT . VTRAQVI . VNVM . 1558 .

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{2}{10}$ in.

Cabinets: the Hunterian Collection in the University of Glasgow, and also in the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The latter specimen was formerly in the Rousseau Cabinet. *Artist*, unknown.

Utraqui is the reading given by Anderson and Le Blanc.

5 (*b*). The dies of the above rare medal are said to have been found some time ago in the mint at Paris. But, on inquiry there, I find that nothing is known of this discovery. There is a common medal of the same type, but larger size, which is modern. The dies for it were sunk about forty years ago, and examples exist in all the metals.

In the next year (1559) we find the following jetton:—

6. *Obv.*—Arms of Francis and Mary, quarterly, crowned.

FRANCISCVS : ET : MARIA · REX : REGI

Rev.—A sword pointing to a crown, with a scroll across it bearing the legend—

VNVS NON SVFFICIT ORBIS.
SCOTORVM : DELPHINVS : VIENIS : 1559

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. *Artist*, unknown.

I am not aware where a specimen of this jetton exists. It is figured in Anderson (Pl. CLXIV. Fig. 12), and also in a MS. in the British Museum (Cotton MSS., Tib. D. II.). De Bie gives one somewhat similar (Tab. 61), which he believes was struck in the previous year (p. 184): but the obverse is different, and the reverse has two orbs which are not found in the specimen figured by Anderson. There is little doubt but that it at one time existed in the Sutherland cabinet, but like many other rare specimens it was lost before that collection came into the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Snelling, in his Billon Plate (Fig. 19), gives a piece which is copied by Cardonnel (Pl. I. Fig. 19), who calls it the Bawbee of Mary; but it is certainly a jetton.

7. *Obv.*—Two shields, with the arms of France on the one and of Scotland on the other, beneath one crown.

FRAN . ET . MARIA . REX . REGINA . FRANCOR . SCOTOR.

Rev.—A cross formed of four lily heads united by short stalks. In opposite quarters two waved stars and two thistle-heads.

✣ SIT . NOMEN . DNI . BENEDICTVM 1559.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, 1 in. *Artist*, unknown.

This jetton is also figured by Combrouse in his work on French money. I have never seen a specimen.

There is another piece which probably is of the same period, though De Bie (p. 187) gives the date 1557 as occurring on the exergue.

8 (*a*). *Obv.*—The arms of Scotland crowned.

MARIA . DEI . G . SCOTOℝ . REGINA .

Rev.—A hand from heaven pruning the withered branch of a vine.

VIRESCIT VVLNERE . VIRTVS ✣

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{16}$ in.

Cabinets, common *Artist*, unknown. Figured in the Pembroke Plates, p. 4, t. 27.

8 (*b*). A variety of this occurs, which has on the obverse the arms of Scotland dimidiated by those of France, and the legend MARIA · D · G · SCOTOR · REGINA · FRAN · DOI. It is worthy of notice that the last word of the legend is given as DOT by De Bie in all the jettons of this class.

A very rare jetton was struck in 1560.

9. *Obv.*—Arms of France dimidiated by those of Scotland and England quarterly, crowned.

MARIA . D . G . FRANCOR . SCOTOR . REG . ETC

Rev.—Two crowns between earth and the sky studded with stars.

✣ ◊ ALIAMQVE ◊ MORATUR ◊ 1560

Metals, Æ. Æ. *Size* $1\frac{1}{20}$ in. *Artist*, unknown. *Cabinets:* in brass in the British Museum, and a specimen in silver was in the Reguenet Cabinet, sold in Paris in October, 1875; now in my own. See Pl. II. 4.

It is figured by Anderson (Pl. CLXIV. Fig. 13), and described in the Cat. of Mu. Arch. In., 1856 (p. 180), from the specimen now in the British Museum. Nicolson (p. 321) describes the reverse as presenting the two crowns on a level, and a third in the clouds.

10. A large medal without date belongs to this period. It is figured by Anderson (Pl. CLXIV. Fig. 15). Pinkerton (p. 144) thinks it was the coronation medal.

Obv.—The king and queen face to face beneath a double-arched crown, surrounded by three circles of inscriptions. In the first—

CIVITAS :·: PARISIIS :·: three fleur de lis :·: REGIORVM.

In the second—

✣ HORA :·: NONA :·: DOMINANS :·: IHS :·: EXPIRAVIT :·: HELLI :·: CLAMANS.[2]

[2] See De Bie, Tab. 39, xi.

In the third—

✣ FRANCISCVS : ET :·: MARIA :·: DEI :·: GRATIA :·: REX :·: ET :·: REGINA :·: FRANCORVM :·: ET :·: SCOTORVM

Rev.—The arms of France and Scotland, quarterly, crowned, between a waved star and a thistle-head, both crowned, surrounded by three circles of inscriptions.

In the first—

✣ FRANCISCVS :·: GALLIAR :·: REX :·: PARCENDO : ET : DEBELLEN. (*sic*) (but read DEBELLANDO).

In the second—

✣ OB :·: RES :·: IN :·: ITALIA :·: GERMANIA :·: ET :·: GALLIA :·: FORTITER :·: AC :·: FELI :·: (*sic*) but supply CITER GESTAS. (See De Bie, Tab. 56, viii.)

In the third—

✣ BENEDICTVM :·: SIT :·: NOMEN :·: DOMINI :·: DEI :·: GRA :·: NOSTRI :·: DEI :·: IESVS :·: XPI :·: ✣

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{6}{10}$ in. *Artist*, unknown.

Cabinet: the original is not known, but Anderson probably figured it from a specimen in the Sutherland Collection, now lost.

On the marriage of Mary and Darnley the following medal was struck:—

11. *Obv.*—The king's and queen's busts, each crowned, facing one another. Beneath, the date 1565.

✣ MARIA & HENRIC . D. G. REGI & REX . SCOTORVM.

Rev.—The arms of Scotland crowned between two thistle-heads.

· QVOS · DEVS · COIVNXIT · HOMO NON SEPARET ·

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{8}{10}$ in. *Artist*, unknown.

This medal must not be confounded with the equally rare silver ryal of the same year, which is figured in Anderson (Pl. CLXIV. Fig. 18), and also in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. i. Pl. LV. The coin has the busts uncrowned, and the king's name takes precedence of the

queen's—a circumstance remarked by Randolph to Cecil (State Papers, Scot., Eliz., vol. xi., No. 103; Cal., vol. i. p. 226), who notes that though issued as a coin, it was almost immediately called in. The silver ryal was in the Sutherland Cabinet, but has been lost. It was also in the collection of the Earl of Oxford, and in the British Museum. The medal exists in the Cab. des Méd. at Paris.

In 1579 the following jetton occurs. It is given by Mezeray (vol. iii. p. 49), and also by De Bie (Tab. 62, p. 187), and Nicolson (p. 323).

12. *Obv.*—Arms of France and Scotland dimidiated and crowned.
MARIA . D . G . SCOTOR . REGINA . FRAN . DOI

Rev.—A vine with a withered branch receiving water from an urn in the clouds.
MEA SIC MIHI PROSVNT.

In the exergue 1579; but this is omitted in De Bie's figure, though given in his description.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.
Cabinets, common; *Artist*, unknown. See Pembroke Plates, p. 4, t. 27.

The next one is of the same period.

13. *Obv.*—Arms of France, dimidiated by those of Scotland, crowned.
MARIA . D . G . SCOTOR . REGINA . FRAN . DOI

Rev.—A vessel dismasted pursuing her course in a storm.
NVMQVAM . NISI . RECTAM

In the exergue 1579.
Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*, unknown. See Pl. II. 6.

This is figured by Mezeray (vol. iii. p. 49), and by De Bie (Tab. 62, p. 188), and in the Pembroke Plates, p. 4, t. 27, though not sold at the sale (see Cat. p. 58). It is also mentioned by Nicolson (p. 324).

De Bie gives a series of medals of Mary with the reverses similar to these jettons, but with the queen's

bust on the obverse. Two of those figured by him are larger, according to his scale, than the jettons with the arms, being each $1\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch in diameter, and the third is $1\frac{1}{10}$ in diameter.

In the same year the following jetton also occurs:—

14. *Obv.*—Arms of France dimidiated by those of Scotland and crowned.

MARIA . D . G . SCOTOR . REGINA . FRAN . DOI

Rev.—A winged female holding a wheel and a rudder.

ADRASTIA . ADERIT

In the exergue 1579.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*, unknown. See Pl. II. 6.

15. Another jetton is mentioned by Pinkerton in his "Medallic History" as bearing the same type as that of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. (p. 43, No. 10). I can find no other authority for it.

The next medal of Mary has no date.

16 (*a*). *Obv.*—Bust of Mary to the right, wearing a dress closely buttoned up in front; a ruff round the neck. Head-dress, a long veil hanging down.

· MARIA STOVVAR REGI SCOTI ANGLI

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{6}{10}$.
Cabinet, MB. *Artist*, Primavera. See Pl. II. 3.

No reverse is usually given to this medal. In the field the name of the artist, IA · PRIMAVE.

16 (*b*). The Rev. Professor Churchill Babington has a variety with the legend as above, but REGINA SCOTIÆ ANGLIÆ.

16 (*c*). Another variety of this medal has been engraved by Heræus; but with the legend MARIA REG. SCOT. E. ANG. It is also noticed by M. Chabouillet in his "Notice sur une Médaille inédite de Ronsard, par Primavera" (Orleans, 1875), and is given on the frontispiece to Chalmers' "Life of Mary" (vol. iii.).

16 (*d*). Another variety of this medal, of smaller size, and without the artist's name, is also engraved by Heræus (Pl. XXII). The only specimen I know of is in silver, in my own collection. It also bears the legend, MARIA REG. SCOT. E. ANG.

16 (*e*). A curious variety of this medal, similar in type to (*a*) has the legend within two lines, both inside the pearled border (Cat. of Mu. Arch. In., 1856). The reverse bears a female ascending a rocky eminence, having in one hand a palm branch, and apparently a water-clock suspended from her arm. In the distance a landscape with ruins, a city on a hill, a water-mill, trees, water, &c.[1]

A die for a badge is said to have been discovered in Paris, containing the queen's bust down to the waist, with M and R on either side. This is probably of a later period than Mary's reign. The pieces struck from it are of no value. They are octagonal, and generally bear a modern shield of arms on the reverse, and sometimes a small coin or weight is inserted.

Another medal often attributed to Mary Stuart will be noticed afterwards among the medals of private individuals under the name of Lady Margaret Douglas.[2]

Of James VI., previous to his accession to the English throne, we have the following counter in 1588 :—

1. *Obv.*—The arms of Scotland crowned, surmounted by a collar of thistles.

CAMERE ⚹ COMPVTORVM ⚹ REGIORVM

1588 below.

Rev.—A thistle with five heads, the centre one crowned.

ME MEOSQ ⚹ DEFENDO NOCVOSQ ⚹ REPELLO

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. *Cabinet*, Soc. of Ant. of Scot.

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[1] The obverse of this variety is figured in Smith's "Iconographia Scotica."

[2] A small medal with M crowned on the obverse has been attributed to Mary Stuart, but belongs to Mary of Hungary.

2. *Obv.*—The king's bust to the right in armour with laurel wreath.

. ✠ . IACOBVS . 6 . D . G . R . SCOTORVM.

Rev.—A thistle plant growing with six heads, the uppermost crowned between I and R, both crowned.

✠ NEMO . ME . IMPVNE . LACESSET . 1590.

The numeral 6 below the thistle.

Metals, *N*, *Æ*.
Cabinets, MB, Soc. Ant. Scot. *Artist*, unknown.

This fine medal is figured in Anderson (Pl. CLVI. Fig. 7). It is generally cast and roughly tooled. It is in silver (gilt) in the National Collection, Edinburgh, and was also according to Nicolson in gold in the Sutherland Cabinet. To the same year, or immediately afterwards, we may probably assign an exceedingly fine and rare medal figured by Anderson (Pl. CLVI. Fig. 13), and also by Pinkerton ("Med. Hist.," Pl. XI. Fig. 9).

3. *Obv.*—The king's head in a peculiar hat (similar to the hat pieces of the coinage), and the queen's head with a ruff round the neck. Above the heads a crown.

· IACOBVS 6 · ET · ANNA · D · G · SCOTORVM · REX · ET · REGINA ·

Rev.—The full achievement of the arms of Scotland with the legend

✠ · IN : DE : ✠ ✠ : FENCE ✠

divided at the centre roses on each side of the arms.

Metal, *N*.
Cabinet, Duke of Atholl.

This fine piece exists in gold in the collection of the Duke of Atholl, whose ancestor acquired it in 1773 at the sale of the cabinet of Mr. West, President of the Royal Society. It was in the Sutherland Collection at one time (Nicolson, p. 303), and a cast in silver is in the Society of Antiquaries' Cabinet, in Edinburgh.

R. W. Cochran-Patrick.

IV.

RARE ENGLISH COINS OF THE MILLED SERIES.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle:

2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park,
12th January, 1877.

Dear Sir,

I send you, for publication in the pages of the "Numismatic Chronicle" (should you think it worth while), a list of some rare coins in the Milled Series which have come into my possession during the past year, and which I have exhibited to the Society, from time to time, at their meetings.

I much regret that I can contribute so little to the Society; but I am afraid that nearly all that can be said has been said, of the branch to which my cabinet is, at present, limited, *i.e.* the Milled Series.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

Richard A. Hoblyn.

A LIST OF RARE ENGLISH COINS OF THE MILLED SERIES.

Reign.	Denomination of Coin.	Date.	Description of Coin.	Remarks.
CHARLES II.	Farthing	1671	*Obv.*—Type of long-hair pattern farthings. *Rev.*—Britannia, as on current farthing	Unpublished. From the Wigan cabinet.
,,	,,	1685	Tin. *Obv.* and *rev.* as usual, but on edge. NVMMORVM * FAMVLVS * 1685 *	An unpublished date. Charles died 6th February, 1685.
JAMES II.	,,	—	Tin. Proof of *obv.* only, with plain edge, and without central stud of copper	Perhaps unique. From the Bergne cabinet.
WILLIAM III.	Sixpence	1696	Struck upon a thick flan	From the Rishton cabinet.
,,	Halfpenny	—	*Obv.* and *rev.* large and very rudely executed busts of the King and Queen respectively. GVLIELMVS·REX MARIA· REGINA	Unpublished. A specimen exists in the British Museum.
GEORGE I.	Farthing	1722	Wood's Irish farthing, similar to the halfpenny with Hibernia holding the harp in front. (Proof.)	[illegible] m
,,	Halfpenny	1724	Wood's Irish halfpenny, with a rude long-necked bust of the King	[illegible]
GEORGE II.	,,	1742	An Irish halfpenny, with a very peculiar bust of the King	From the Bergne cabinet. The die is much cracked.
GEORGE III.	Shilling	1787	The current shilling, but counter-marked in neck with a small bust of the King, similar to that used on the "Convenience" money	Probably unique.
,,	Halfpenny	1799	Somewhat similar to current type, but different bust, and inscribed GEORGIUS III · D : G · REX	Unpublished. The die is cracked on the obverse.
GEORGE IV.	Farthing	1822	Irish. Similar to the penny and halfpenny, but never issued. (Proof)	Unpublished. (?)
WILLIAM IV.	½ Farthing	1837	Similar to the current copper coins of larger denomination	Struck for Ceylon, and of great rarity.
VICTORIA	⅓ Farthing	1844	Similar to the current type, but struck in bronze	Struck for Malta.
,,	Penny	1862	Similar in some respects to the current penny, but with coronet on head of the Queen, and the hair differently arranged. (Proof.)	Not unknown, but of considerable rarity.
,,	⅓ Farthing	1876	Similar to the current types of 1866 and 1868	Struck for Malta, by the authority of the Home Government, to the number of 160,000 pieces.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The Silver Coins of England, &c. By Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A. Second edition, with alterations and additions by R. Ll. Kenyon. B. Quaritch, 1876.

All English numismatists will hail with pleasure this new and enlarged edition of Hawkins, and this pleasure will be increased by the remembrance that the editor of the work is not a stranger, but a grandson of the original author. It is now thirty-five years since the first edition appeared, and during that period our knowledge of the coinage of this country has so much advanced, that a mere reprint of Mr. Hawkins' work would have been but of little value, and to bring out a new edition involved not only the publication of a large mass of new materials, but a considerable revision and rearrangement of the old. To what an extent this has been carried is evident from the fact that in Mr. Kenyon's edition the original 308 pages of letterpress have expanded into 504, while 95 new coins have been added to the 553 which had been already engraved in the plates. No doubt the desirability of retaining as much as possible of Mr. Hawkins' text, and the necessity of using the plates already engraved, must to some extent have hampered the present editor; but the alterations and additions to the text are extensive and well carried out. The works of Lindsay, Haigh, Hildebrand, and others have been carefully examined, but among all the publications to which Mr. Kenyon is indebted there appears to be none which has rendered him so much service as the Numismatic Chronicle, the pages of which have been enriched by so many contributions on the subject of English Numismatics. It would be impossible in a short notice like the present to point out all the modifications which Mr. Hawkins' work has undergone before appearing in its new form, but it seems desirable to indicate some of the changes in order that our readers may more fully appreciate the value of the new work. The Ancient British Coinage is, for instance, now arranged in accordance with the published views of Mr. Evans. The sceattas with Runic legends and Roman letters occupy a much more important place than formerly. The coin once attributed to Ethelberht I. of Kent is removed from that series and placed among those with Runic inscriptions. These assigned to Eadvald of Mercia are now [illegible]

of East Anglia. A fresh attempt is made to separate the coins of Ciolvulf I. and II. The coins of Halfden, Sitric, Cnut, and others are recognised in the Northumbrian series. The earlier so-called Sole Monarchs are placed among the West Saxon kings, and numerous additions and some transfers are made throughout the whole Saxon series. A most desirable and important addition is made in the shape of lists of moneyers of the different kings, to which in the later reigns the names of the mints at which they struck is appended.

In the post-Conquest series the improvements are equally conspicuous. Some attempt is made to distinguish between the coins of William I. and II., though much is still to be done in that respect. The coins of Matilda and the Earl of Warwick are recognised, and one indeed of the former added. The continuity of the short cross coinage from the reign of Henry II. through those of Richard I. and John into that of Henry III. is accepted, though the arrangement of the types is somewhat different from that adopted in the Chronicle, and we cannot agree with Mr. Kenyon in thinking that an issue of fairly struck and barbarous coins went on for many years simultaneously, and regret that a characteristic coin of John has not been selected for engraving. The labours of Messrs. Longstaffe, Pownall, and Neck, in arranging the coins of Henry IV., V., and VI. have borne good fruit in Mr. Kenyon's pages, and even in the later reigns many additions have been made, as will be seen by a comparison of the tabular views of the coinage of each reign with those of the former edition. The new plates are well and faithfully engraved by Mr. Lees, and do not suffer by a comparison with the earlier plates executed by Mr. Fairholt. Altogether we heartily commend the new edition to all English numismatists, who will find it as indispensable upon their shelves as the volumes of Ruding or the Numismatic Chronicle itself.

Monnaies royales de la Lydie. Par F. Lenormant. Paris, 1876.

In the above-named monograph M. Lenormant endeavours to combine into a single series the coins of the ancient Lydian kingdom, from the reign of Gyges to that of Crœsus. We are not prepared to deny that many of the coins here cited by M. Lenormant are Lydian, but that they are all so we are, in spite of the author's arguments, still less in a position to affirm. On the contrary, we believe that many of the early electrum coins here assigned to the Sardian mint are rather to be attributed to Greek cities on the Ionian coast, and notably to

Miletus. The running fox which M. Lenormant believes that he sees in the central incuse of many of these primitive coins, and which he supposes to be a symbol of the Lydian Bacchus or Bassareus, the God of Foxes, would undoubtedly, if actually present on all the coins where it is alleged to be so, afford a strong *primâ facie* argument for collecting them all into a single series. But it is in our judgment more than questionable whether there is any fox at all, except on one specimen (No. 5 of his plate) where it is clearly visible. It is true that on No. 1 he also engraves a fox, but we have been at the pains of comparing his engraving with the original coin in the British Museum, a photographic reproduction of which will be found on Pl. VII., Fig. 1, of the Numismatic Chronicle for 1875, and we are obliged to confess that in this instance at any rate M. Lenormant has improved into the semblance of a fox what is in our own opinion merely the rough unworked surface of the metal within the incuse depression. As, therefore, we are for the present unable to accept M. Lenormant's premises, it is useless to discuss the inferences which he deduces from them.

Examen chronologique des Monnaies frappées par la Communauté des Macédoniens, avant, pendant, et après la Conquête romaine. Par F. Bompois. Paris, 1876.

In this treatise M. Bompois has arranged in chronological order the coins of Macedonia *in genere*, from the time of Perseus, the last Greek king of Macedon, B.C. 168, down to the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, B.C. 48. The author deserves great credit for thus combining into a historically consecutive series a class of coins hitherto but insufficiently studied by numismatists. Five well-executed plates by Dardel accompany the work, and are in themselves amply sufficient to convince us of the correctness of nearly all the author's attributions. Nos. 22 and 23 of Plate II. we should, however, prefer to give to early Imperial times, rather than with M. Bompois to the period preceding the battle of Pydna, and we are not altogether convinced by the author's arguments when he assigns to the epoch of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey the coins of Aesillas and Sura, and when he rejects the generally accepted attribution of the latter to Bruttius Sura, the legate of Sentius Saturninus, proconsul in Macedon in B.C. 87. It is to be hoped that M. Bompois will ere long give us the remainder of the work to which the present part is introductory. Part II. is to contain the autonomous coins of the various towns and tribes of Macedon, and Part III. is to be devoted exclusively to those of

the kings and dynasts. The whole will form a most valuable contribution to the study of this portion of Greek numismatics.

Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum: Vol. II. Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties, Classes III.—X. By Stanley Lane Poole. Edited by R. S. Poole. (Longmans, 1876.)

This volume of the Museum Catalogue contains descriptions of 687 Arabic coins, issued by dynasties of Spain, North Africa, Egypt, Khorasan, Persia, Turkistan, North-West India, and Kharezm. Among these, the fine series of coins struck by the Bouides (or "Buweyhîs," as Mr. Poole insists on calling them), and those of the Benî Tûlûn and Ikhshîdîs in Egypt, deserve special mention. In this volume will also be found the long and interesting series of Ghazni coins, which Mr. Thomas has made celebrated. And not the least interesting part of the book, from a historian's point of view, is that which describes the coins of the lesser dynasties of Spain. These petty princes, who divided the Mohammadan provinces of Spain amongst themselves after the fall of the Cordova Khalifs, and of whom some are hardly known to history save by their coins, are represented somewhat fully in the British Museum collection; and the publication of the data afforded by their coins will serve to throw some light on an obscure page in history. The volume ends with more than fifty pages of indexes, and is illustrated by eight autotype plates.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. IV., Heft. 3, Berlin, 1876, contains the following articles:—

1.—A. von Sallet. On the Numismatics of the Kings of Pontus and Bosporus. The writer here publishes and engraves a unique tetradrachm of a king of Pontus with a bearded head of the king diademed on the obverse, and on the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, Perseus standing holding head of Medusa and harpa; above his head the sun and crescent moon. This remarkable coin is here attributed with much show of probability to Mithradates V., the father of Mithradates the Great, although this monarch is only known to writers as Euergetes, and is nowhere called either Philopator or Philadelphus. Dr. v. Sallet also engraves the exceedingly rare tetradrachm of the son of Mithradates the Great who was placed by his father on the throne of Cappadocia. The obverse of this coin exhibits a portrait closely resembling that of Mithradates, while the reverse type is also copied from that of the coins of Mithradates;

the legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

2.—M. Bahrfeldt. On Countermarks on Silver Coins of the Roman Republic.

3.—H. Dannenberg. The Hohenwalde Find. I. Coins of Pomerania and Mecklenburg.

4.—A. von Sallet. Bracteates of Brandenburg.

5.—J. Friedlaender. On Satrapal Coins. Among the remarkable coins noticed in this article is a drachm which may be thus described :

Obv.—Jugate heads of a queen and king to right, the former veiled, the latter wearing a high tiara adorned with a star.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΝΥΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ. Pallas Nikephoros seated left holding spear; shield rests against her throne behind her.

This coin is undoubtedly Cappadocian. Dr. Friedlaender supposes Nysa to have been the widow of Ariarathes VI. and the mother of the king, who appears by her side.

6.—A. von Sallet. On a Gold Stater of the Tauric Chersonesus, with the inscription ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΟΥCΗC ΕΤΟΥC Ρ Θ. (Year 109 of the Chersonesian æra, which corresponds with A.D. 75.) The title ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΟΥCΑ, as applied to a town, is quite new, but Dr. von Sallet shows that about the period when this coin was struck it may well have been applied to the town of Chersonesus.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. VIII., Part I., Vienna, 1876, contains the following articles:—

1.—F. Kenner. Inedited Greek Coins. Dr. Kenner here publishes a silver coin of the Pisatæ in Elis similar to the well-known gold coins of that people; a coin of Zacynthus and Pale in alliance; a small silver coin of Syros; an imperial medallion of Thyatira in Lydia of Sept. Severus.

2.—F. Kenner. On the Coins of Axus in Crete.

3.—H. C. Reichardt. On an Aureus of Pescennius Niger.

4.—F. Trau. On Inedited Roman Coins, of M. Aurelius (Æ. medallion); of I. Paula (quinarius); of Maximian Hercules (*N.*); and of Constantine the Great (*N.*).

5.—E. von Bergmann. Mahometan Numismatics.

6.—O. Blau. Select Oriental Coins.

7.—A. Luschin-Ebengreuth. On the Vienna Pennies.

8.—C. von Wachter. A Systematic Description of the Ancient Venetian Coins according to their Types (*continuation*).

9.—E. Forcheimer. Thaler of Prince Syrus Austriacus of Corregio.

10.—C. Ernst. Two Thalers of the Rosenberg family.

The portion devoted to numismatic literature contains a long review of Dannenberg's Deutsche Münzen.

MISCELLANEA.

Glenquaich Treasure-Trove.—The coins of which the following is a list were found in March, 1876, on the ledge of a rock at Glenquaich, in Perthshire. They were enclosed in a stoneware jar or bottle, which broke in pieces on being lifted, except the neck and upper part. The coins were recovered by the Procurator Fiscal at Perth and transmitted to Exchequer. They all appear to have been long in circulation (those of William being least rubbed), and were probably deposited in the reign of Anne.

List of Coins.

Charles II.	Bawbees	218
	Turners	14
	Bodles	12
William and Mary	Bawbees	16
	Bodles	31
William III.	Bawbees, 1695, '96, and '97	18
	Bodles	34
Obliterated	Bodles	6
Louis XIV.	Small silver coin	1
	Total	350

George Sim.

Edinburgh, December, 1876.

V.

MONNAIES DES SATRAPES DE CARIE.

En 1823 un dépôt très-considérable de monnaies en argent fut découvert dans l'île de Calymna.

D'après la description que Borrell en a donnée dans le Numismatic Chronicle de 1847, tom. ix. p. 165, ce trésor contenait outre quelques milliers de sigles médiques —que Borrell désigne par le nom de dariques—de nombreux exemplaires en différent module des villes Calymna, Cnidus, Cos et Rhodus, et des rois Mausole, Idrieus et Pixodare. La masse du dépôt consistait en drachmes et didrachmes. Les tétradrachmes ou plutôt statères étaient peu nombreux. Borrell ne dit pas s'il en fut trouvé de Cos et de Rhodus, mais il y en avait un de Cnidus, quelques-uns de Mausole et pas un seul d'Idrieus, dont on en connaît pourtant.

Il y avait bien quelques statères encore dans le dépôt, mais ceux-ci, quoique conformes en poids aux monnaies Cariennes, s'en distinguaient pourtant par des types tout-à-fait différents.

En voici la description, à laquelle je joins le poids et les symboles des exemplaires, qui sont venus à ma connaissance, grâce surtout à l'obligeance de MM. Imhoof-Blumer à Winterthur et B. V. Head à Londres.

Obv. Le roi de Perse la tiare royale en tête court à droite en tirant de l'arc.

Rev. Un guerrier, coiffé de la tiare basse des Satrapes—τιάρα ἐπτυγμένη καὶ προβάλλουσα εἰς τὸ μέτωπον, Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 487—et monté sur un cheval perse richement caparaçonné, court au galop à droite en brandissant une lance.

(i.) Sans ligne d'exergue sous le roi de Perse. Une petite tête d'Hercule à droite, couverte de la peau de lion, derrière le cavalier.

Æ. 6 14^{80} grammes. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 5½ $14^{774} = 228$ gr. Catal. Ivanoff, n. 673.
Æ. 6 $14^{70} = 227$ gr. . Brit. Museum. [Pl. III. 1.]
Æ. 6 $14^{676} = 226^{5}$. Coll. Wigan.
Æ. 6 . . . . . Sestini, Mus. Fontana, I., p. 120, tom. iii. 15. Mionnet, Supl. VIII., p. 428, n. 39.

(ii.) Avec ligne d'exergue. Devant le roi **OO**, derrière lui **O** ? Étoile à huit rayons devant le cavalier.

Æ. 6½ 15^{02} . . . . Munich. [Pl. III. 2.]
Æ. 5½ $14^{385} = 222$ gr. Ma collection, du Catal. Borrell, févr. 1862, n. 101.

(iii.) **OOOX** devant le roi.

Æ. 6. Mionnet, Suppl. VIII., p. 428, n. 38.

O devant le roi.

Æ. 5. Catal. Behr, n. 851.

(iv.) ⊙ au revers.

Æ. 6 14^{40}. Collect. de Luynes, Brandis, p. 427.

(v.) Avec ligne d'exergue sous le roi. Dauphin à droite sous le cavalier, **O** derrière lui.

Æ. 5½ 14^{95}. Paris, Mion. V., p. 644, n. 26; S. VIII., Pl. XIX. 6. Rois grecs, Pl. LXV. 14.
Æ. 6 14^{85}. Coll. de Luynes, Brandis, p. 427.
Æ. 6 14^{73}. British Museum, Cat. Payne Knight, p. 167, B. [Pl. III. 3.]
Æ. 6·5½ 14^{52}, fruste. Ma collection. De style beaucoup plus récent, v. Pl. III. 5, 6.
Æ. 5¼ $14^{22} = 219^{5}$, fruste. Catal. Thomas, n. 2824 = Cat. Huxtable, n. 268.

(vi.) Foudre devant le roi.

Æ. 6 14^{90}. Musée de Berlin, Catal. de M. Friedlaender, n. 593.

(vii.) Petite tête d'aigle à droite derrière le cavalier.
Æ. 6 14[51]. British Museum. [Pl. III. 4.]

(viii.) ϟ et tête de lion à droite derrière le roi. Oiseau —aigle ?—debout à droite sous le cavalier.
Æ. 5 14[51]. Coll. Imhoof. [Pl. III. 5.]

(ix.) Sans symboles. Ligne d'exergue sous le roi.
Æ. 6 15[0] . . . Ma collection.
Æ. 6 14[90] . . Pinder, Beitraege, p. 193.
Æ. 5½ 14[32], fruste. Ma collection.
Æ. 5 13[99], fruste. British Museum. [Pl. III. 6.]

(x.) Le roi tient de la gauche l'arc, de la droite la haste.
Æ. 2½ . . Catal. Behr, n. 852.
Æ. 1½ . . Von Prokesch-Osten, Ined. 1859, Pl. I. n. 14.
Æ. 1½ 2[28]. Ma collection, du Catal. Hoffmann, févr. 1874, n. 2716. [Pl. III. 7.]

Brandis, qui décrit quelques-uns de ces statères, "Muenzwesen in Vorderasien," p. 427, les classe parmi les monnaies perses dont le lieu d'émission est encore à trouver. En effet le système rhodien auquel ces pièces sont ajustées, n'avait pas été adopté en Carie seulement, mais était encore en usage dans beaucoup d'autres villes, notamment en Ionie.

À lui seul le poids n'est donc pas un indice suffisant de provenance, mais combiné avec le fait, que ces statères se sont trouvé en certain nombre dans cet immense dépôt de monnaies cariennes d'ailleurs très-dépourvu de statères, l'identité de poids prend une importance tout autre et oblige à rechercher, si ce n'est pas dans la Carie même qu'il faut placer l'émission de ces monnaies à l'effigie du roi de Perse.

Le type du revers n'est pas en désaccord avec cette supposition. Ce guerrier vêtu à la manière des Perses et monté sur un cheval perse, ne peut guère représenter qu'un de ces princes tributaires auxquels le grand roi

décernait le titre de satrapes pour les maintenir dans l'obéissance, mais qui de leur côté se rendaient aussi indépendants que les circonstances le permettaient.

Or c'est justement en Carie, que nous rencontrons une dynastie de ce genre, du moment que par la paix d'Antalcidas en 387, les villes de ce pays—et d'après les listes des tributs il y en avait bien une cinquantaine qui avaient fait partie de la confédération athénienne—furent rentrées sous la domination perse.

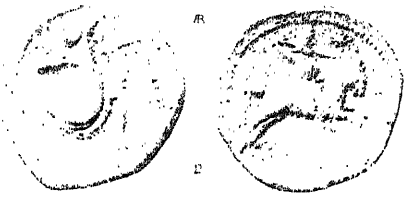
Le dynaste de Mylasa, Hécatomnos, fut nommé satrape par Artaxerxes Mnémon. Lui-même continua d'habiter Mylasa, mais son fils Mausole changea de résidence et vint à Halicarnasse, au bord de la mer, se bâtir une capitale plus en rapport avec l'agrandissement de ses états, auxquels il avait joint les îles libres Cos et Rhodus. Elles demeurèrent au pouvoir de sa veuve Artémise et de son frère Idrieus et ne recouvrèrent leur autonomie que vers l'avènement de Pixodare, v. Schmidt, "Geschichte der Karischen-Fuersten," Goettingen, 1861, p. 13.

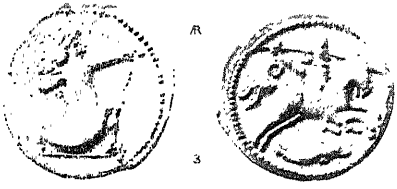
La charge de satrape resta héréditaire dans la famille de Hécatomnos et ses trois fils en furent investis l'un après l'autre, v. l'inscription de Mylasa, Boeckh, Corp Inscr. Graec., n. 2691, et celle de Tralles, n. 2919, et Aulu-Gelle, Noct. Attic. x. 18.

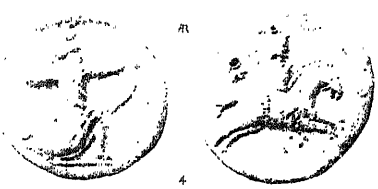
Il serait superflu de remarquer que les filles de Hécatomnos ne furent pas appelées à occuper un poste que le roi de Perse n'aurait pas confié à une femme, si Boeckh ne s'était étonné de trouver dans l'inscription de Tralles la mention du Satrape Idrieus dès la septième année d'Artaxerxes Ochus, nov. 353—352, alors qu'Artémise était encore en vie, v. Newton, Halicarn. p. 56.

En Asie comme en Égypte une femme ne régnait pas seule. Il lui fallait être assistée soit par un mari, soit par

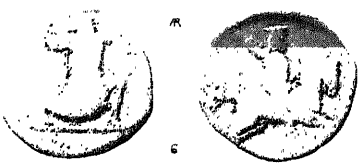

AR 1

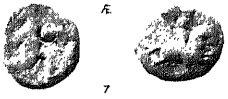

AR 2

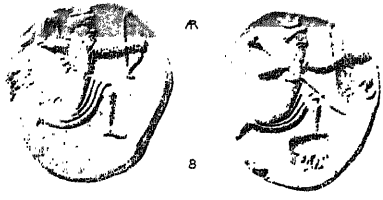

AR 3

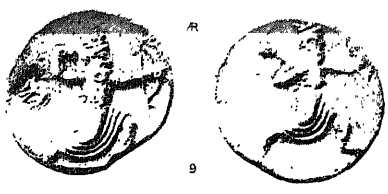

AR 4


AR 5


AR 6


Æ 7


AR 8


AR 9

CARIAE ET CILICIAE SATRAPARUM NUMMI.

un fils, soit par un frère, qui devenait alors, en règle, son mari. L'absence de monnaies d'Artémise et d'Ada prouve bien qu'il n'en était pas autrement en Carie, et que, pendant qu'Artémise régnait de fait à Halicarnasse et sur les îles grecques, son frère Idrieus était non seulement le satrape perse, mais encore celui dont le nom figurait sur les espèces destinées au commerce avec les Grecs.

Ainsi s'explique aussi pourquoi Ada, détrônée par Pixodare, s'empressa, à l'arrivée d'Alexandre le Grand, d'adopter le roi de Macédoine afin de recouvrer par son appui l'autorité qui lui était échappée.

Mais s'il faut considérer les statères, qui font l'objet de cette discussion, comme des monnaies frappées par les satrapes de la Carie, qu'est-ce qui a pu engager ces dynastes à faire cette émission et à quelle époque a-t-elle eu lieu ?

Il faut observer à ce sujet qu'il existe des bronzes de petit module à types pareils, tandis qu'on ne rencontre pas de bronze parmi les monnaies grecques des rois de Carie. Cela dénote que même au temps de Pixodare, le dernier roi, la monnaie de bronze n'était pas encore en usage à Halicarnasse et que ce ne fut qu'après sa mort que fut adopté en Carie cette invention assez récente.

C'est donc soit à Ada, la veuve d'Idrieus à laquelle Alexandre restitua la Carie, soit plus probablement à Othontopatès, qu'on aurait à classer ces petits bronzes.

Mais comme il n'est guère admissible de statuer un long intervalle entre les bronzes et les statères, il s'en suit, qu'il faut donner une partie des statères au moins à Othontopatès et à Pixodare et il n'y a personne à qui ils conviennent mieux qu'à ce dernier.

Obligé de se défendre contre la veuve d'Idrieus, qui lui disputait le pouvoir, et frustré dans son espoir de marier sa

fille aînée à un fils de Philippe de Macédoine et de s'assurer par cette union un allié puissant parmi les Grecs, il tourna ses regards d'un autre côté et se choisit pour gendre et pour successeur dans sa satrapie le Perse Othontopatès. Strabon, xiv. (p. 656), II. 17 : Περσίσας δὲ (Πιξώδαρος) μεταπέμπεται σατράπην ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Schmidt, p. 13.

De plus, parmi les nombreuses espèces de Pixodare les statères font complètement défaut, ce qui est d'autant plus singulier que même Othontopatès en a frappé pendant les quelques mois de son gouvernement. Les statères à types perses expliqueraient et combleraient à merveille cette lacune.

Il est probable, cependant, qu'il y a parmi les statères en question des exemplaires plus anciens et qu'Idrieus pourrait revendiquer. Les statères grecs de ce roi sont aussi en trop petit nombre pour la durée de son règne, 353—344.

Puis la *tête d'Hercule,* qui se voit dans le champ de quelques pièces, est toute pareille à celle qui forme le type des monnaies de Cos depuis 366, et Cos dépendait de Mausole et d'Idrieus mais n'était plus soumise à Pixodare.

On pourrait peut-être voir dans les deux ou trois **O** placés devant le roi sur le statère n. ii., le nombre 40 ou 60 exprimé en chiffres phéniciens. Ceci nous conduirait à l'an 366-5, la quarantième année du règne d'Artaxerxes Mnémon, alors que Mausole était son satrape. De même l'**O** placé derrière le cavalier sur le n. v., répondrait à l'an vingt du règne d'Ochus, 340—339. Le satrape serait dans ce cas Pixodare. Pour les sigles **OOOX** qui se lisent sur l'exemplaire publié par Mionnet il est difficile d'imaginer une explication satisfaisante—à moins qu'il n'y ait en réalité **OOON**—car les chiffres 60 ne conviennent ni au

règne d'Artaxerxes Mnémon de 46 ans, ni à celui d'Ochus de 21 années.

Parmi les symboles mentionnés ci-dessus il y en a qui donnent lieu à quelques observations.

Le *dauphin*, symbole de la mer, semble indiquer que les exemplaires sur lesquels il se trouve sont sortis de l'atelier d'une ville maritime ; serait-ce Iasus ?

Une *tête de lion* et un *oiseau* placés l'un au droit, l'autre au revers, se trouvent joints de la même manière sur de très-petites monnaies d'argent, dont le Comte de Prokesch-Osten en a publié une dans l'Archæologische Zeitung, 1849, p. 194, n. 31, tom. ix. 15, et dans ses Inedita de 1854, pl. iii. 80, et dont d'autres exemplaires se trouvent dans mes cartons.

Il est difficile de distinguer, vu l'exiguité de ces petites monnaies, si l'oiseau est bien le même que celui qui se voit sur le statère de M. Imhoof. Par contre j'ai pu constater que ce n'est pas le lion de Cnide, comme le ferait supposer la gravure donnée par Prokesch-Osten, mais bien celui de Milet — qui diffère du premier en ce qu'il retourne la tête — qui forme le type du droit. Voici les variétés que j'ai trouvées dans un lot acquis à la vente Whittall en 1867, n. 554.

Protome de lion à gauche retournant la tête. *Rev.* Oiseau debout à droite dans un carré creux. Dessus ⊙ ou O, devant O. Æ. ½ 0^{25} gr.

Autre, le lion à droite sans lettres. Æ. ½ 0^{25} gr.

Autre, Æ. ½ 0^{1} gr.

Autre, le lion à droite, l'oiseau à gauche, dessus M (?), devant A (?). Æ. ½ 0^{3} gr.

Autre, le lion à gauche, l'oiseau à droite, les lettres indistinctes. Æ. ½ 0^{22} gr.

Même protome de lion à droite. *Rev.* Tête imberbe de face dans un carré creux. Æ. ½ 0^{18} gr.

Quelle que soit la ville à laquelle il faille attribuer ces

monnaies, toujours est-il certain qu'il ne faut pas la chercher bien loin de Milet et que par conséquent la présence de types analogues sur les statères n'est pas en désaccord avec l'attribution à la Carie proposée pour ceux-ci.

Cette attribution, qu'elle soit acceptée ou non, engagera peut-être les numismatistes à publier les variétés qui m'auraient échappées de ces statères curieux, trop longtemps relégués parmi les incertaines des rois de Perse. Quelque nouvel exemplaire, il faut l'espèrer, en fixera définitivement la date et le lieu d'émission. C'est ce qui m'a engagé à écrire ces quelques lignes.

Avant de terminer il ne sera pas inutile de décrire les statères frappés à Mallos de Cilicie par le satrape de cette contrée, puisqu'ils offrent des types analogues et appartiennent à la même époque et qu'ils autorisent par là à supposer qu'une émission du même genre a pu avoir lieu en Carie. En outre parce que c'est à une suite de ce genre que me paraît appartenir la petite monnaie, publiée en dernier lieu dans le Numismatic Chronicle, 1876, Pl. VI. 13, que M. Madden attribue à Artaxerxès Mnémon et sur laquelle il croit reconnaître ses traits. Pour moi je ne puis y voir que la tête d'un satrape de Cilicie vers le milieu du cinquième siècle. Les arguments donnés par Brandis, pp. 241, 242, me semblent concluants.

(i.) Le roi de Perse, la tiare royale en tête, court à droite, tenant de la gauche l'arc, et tirant de le droite une flèche du carquois qu'il porte au dos. *Rev.* Le même (?) roi court à droite, dans la gauche arc, dans la droite haste.

Bœuf, ΙΩ(νικον); aigle et trident dans deux contremarques.

Æ. 6·5 10^{57}. Munich. [Pl. III. 8.]

Bœuf, ΙΩ (νικον) en contremarque.
Æ. 5½ 10^{50}. Paris, Mion. V. p. 644, n. 27; Dumersan, Numism. du Voyage d'Anacharsis, Pl. 2. [Pl. III. 9.]

Contremarqué d'un bœuf et d'un autre animal.
Æ. 5½ $10^{43}=161$. Catal. Pembroke, n. 1016; Leake, p. 80; Brandis, p. 430.
Æ. 5½ 9^{85}. Coll. de Luynes; Brandis, p. 427.

(ii.) Même type que le revers du n. 1. *Rev.* ΜΑΛ; Hercule debout de face étrangle le lion; massue à gauche.
Contremarqué d'un bœuf.
Æ. 5½ $10^{40}=160^{5}$. Hunter, p. 185, 1; Dutens, Pl. I. 6.

Dans le champ grain d'orge. Contrem. d'un bœuf et d'un aigle et trident.
Æ. 5½ $10^{39}=160^{3}$. Pembroke, II. tom. 75; Catal., n. 1015; Leake, p. 80; Mion., III. p. 591, n. 248.

(iii.) Même type. *Rev.* Tête à droite de satrape, couverte d'une tiare basse.
Æ. 1½ $0^{5767}=8^{9}$. Brit. Museum, Num. Chron., 1876, xvi., pp. 118, 132, Pl. VI. 13.

(iv.) Tête de Vénus à droite. *Rev.* Même revers.

ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ.	Contrem. d'un bœuf; ΙΩ(νικον).	
	Æ. 5 10^{10}.	Coll. de Luynes, Satrap. Pl. VI.
	Æ. 5 $9^{96}=187^{6}$.	Mion., III. p. 591, n. 247; Suppl. VII., Pl. VI. 3.
ΜΑΛΛ	Æ. 5·4½ $9^{92}=153^{1}$.	Leake, p. 80.
ΜΑΛΛΩ	Æ. 5½·5 $9^{85}=152$.	Ma coll. de la coll. Wigan.
Sans légende. . .	Æ. 4½ $9^{47}=146^{25}$.	Trouée. Catal. Northwick, n. 1185.

J. P. Six.

Amsterdam, *décembre* 1876.

VI.

ON A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT BLACKMOOR, HANTS.

On the 30th October, 1873, two earthenware vases (I suppose "ollæ"), containing altogether, as counted by me, 29,802 coins, and which must have originally contained a still larger number, were dug up in Blackmoor Park. The spot where they were found is in the parish of Selborne, half-way between Alton and Petersfield, on the western border of Woolmer Forest, about a quarter of a mile N.W. of Woolmer Pond, and close to the point where the Gault clay, which lies below the hills connecting the North with the South Downs, joins the Lower Green sand of the forest. Within a mile of the same spot, in another part of Woolmer Forest, a considerable number of broken swords and spear-heads, &c. (all of bronze) were found one or two years before; and at the latter place, a year afterwards, about one hundred coins of the Tetrici and Victorinus, with a few of Gallienus, were also found. In the grounds of Blackmoor House many fragments of Roman pottery, with some entire and some broken sepulchral and other vases, and a bronze enamelled cup, with bronze and iron axe-heads, and other articles in metal, have also lately been found; and in the last century large numbers of Roman coins, of Commodus and

earlier emperors, were found in the bed of Woolmer Pond; where a few, of the same period, have also been picked up within the present century.

The two pots, in which the 29,802 coins were found, were both of the same size and form: pear-shaped, rather more than a foot high, with a maximum diameter of about a foot. The exterior ornamentation (which was slight and simple) was not the same in both. The upper parts were broken, and the lids or covers were missing. The coins in them were closely packed, and caked together with dirt and verdigris; so as to make it necessary to have those specimens which were worthy of special attention and study (the best of which are now collected in a cabinet at Blackmoor) cleaned.

The result of a complete examination of the whole hoard was to show that it contained (besides a few which could not be distinguished) the coins of which the following is a tabulated summary:—

Emperors, &c.	Varieties.		Total Number.
	Described in Cohen.	Not so Described.	
Gordianus Pius	1	1	2
Philippus		1	1
Otacilia		1	1
Gallus		1	1
Volusianus		1	1
Valerianus (Imp.) . . .	13	3	25
Valerianus (Junior) . .	1	1	2
Gallienus	126	35	3,475
Salonina	30	9	331
Saloninus	3	2	7
Julius Gallienus (doubtful)		2	2
Postumus	38	4	331
Carried forward . .	212	61	4,179

Emperors, &c.	Varieties.		Total Number.
	Described in Cohen.	Not so Described.	
Brought forward .	212	61	4,179
Lælianus	1		8
Victorinus	23	12	5,450
Marius	6	2	60
Tetricus (Imp.)	21	58	10,195
Tetricus (Cæsar) . . .	13	29	3,833
Claudius Gothicus . . .	84	41	4,213
Quintillus	19	3	188
Aurelianus	49	6	175
Severina	4		14
Tacitus	41	6	206
Florianus	8		18
Probus	114	19	431
Carus	6		12
Carinus	13	1	24
Magnia Urbica	1		2
Numerianus	9		14
Diocletianus	26	6	75
Maximianus	22	3	53
Carausius	43	117	545
Allectus	10	3	90
Constantius Chlorus . .	1		1
Unknown			2
	726	367	29,788

Under the head "Varieties," I have not included differences of mint-marks, &c., nor the difference (unless separately catalogued by Cohen) between heads with cuirass, or paludament, and with the bust unclothed; still less differences in the size, &c., of the head, or the attitude of the reverse figure, when the inscriptions and the description of the reverse side are substantially the same.

I have, in some instances, under the column of "varieties not described by Cohen," entered coins which

are described by him as of gold or silver, but not as of bronze or billon.

A large number of the Blackmoor coins are *denarii*, and these are (I think always) of billon. Some, however, are of lower denominations, of various weights and sizes. These, as well as some of the larger provincial coins, are for the most part of bronze; but some of them are of billon. There is one coin of Postumus (much clipped and corroded), which I identify with No. 37 of Cohen, and which may perhaps be of silver. With that exception, if it is one, there is no gold or silver coin.

I have given some reasons (in a paper which has been published in a recent edition of "White's Selborne," and which was written before the examination of all the coins had been completed) for believing that these coins were buried by Allectus, or some of his officers, A.D. 297, at the time when his troops were surprised and routed by the army of Constantius Chlorus, under Asclepiodotus, in the engagement described by the panegyrist Eumenius, only one year afterwards; and which engagement, I suppose, may have been fought in or near Woolmer Forest. It is not necessary to repeat those reasons, which (of course) rest in a great degree upon conjecture. They are quite consistent with the occurrence of one coin of Constantius in the hoard; for this (No. 244 of Cohen) is of Constantius as Cæsar only, not as Emperor. The only thing which seems inconsistent with them is the fact (which had not been observed when the paper to which I have referred was written) that one of the two coins described as "unknown" resembles (though the inscriptions are not decipherable) a coin of Valens, whose reign was about seventy years later than A.D. 297. There are, however, reasons (independent of the improbability

that one coin, and one only, of a date so much later, would be found in such circumstances) for suspecting that this coin may have become accidentally mixed with the others since their discovery, and may not have properly belonged to this hoard.

I will add a few observations, first, as to numerous specimens of coins in this hoard, which have been imperfectly minted, or more than once struck; and afterwards, as to one or two historical matters.

There are many examples of bad work upon coins which have been struck more than once during their original manufacture. In some cases, two stamps, of the same devices and inscriptions, are found intersecting, or traversing, or meeting each other, upon a single coin; in others, the impression is regular and in its proper position on the one side, but imperfect and out of position on the other; in others, there are irregular projections of blank metal beyond the proper margin, with sometimes part only of the device which ought to have been stamped on that side. One coin, of Probus, seems to have been first struck, on what is now the reverse side, with an obverse stamp of the same emperor.

There are also (from the mints of Gallienus, Claudius, Victorinus, Tetricus and Carausius) a number, not large, of imperfect coins, stamped on one side only. It is difficult to suppose that such coins as these were ever issued for circulation as money from any mint, some of them having neither head nor legend on the obverse side. It has occurred to me that these may have been waste pieces, which may have been issued at different times from various mints to the local money-offices, which in Britain, under the Roman and provincial emperors, served the purpose of banks of issue. Of these, there

was, probably, one at Venta (Winchester), then the capital of the district in which Blackmoor lies; and another at Clausentum (Bitterne, now a suburb of Southampton), where there was a mint. If Allectus, during his hasty retreat from the sea-coast, when the troops under Asclepiodotus landed near Portsmouth, passed (as he probably would) through Clausentum and Winchester, he might have swept together, indiscriminately, whatever money he could find in those places, whether kept in stock for issue, or returned after circulation in payment of taxes, &c., or (like these imperfectly-minted coins) lying there as mere waste metal.

In this connection, I may observe, that the imperial and provincial coins of this hoard, earlier than Aurelian (with a few of that reign), and those of Carausius (the latter especially), are very much worn, as if they had been much in circulation. Those of the Roman emperors later than Aurelian (with a large proportion of the coins of that emperor himself) are generally in fine condition, as if they had been either fresh from the mint, or circulated for a short time only. Those of Allectus are, also, comparatively little worn.

There are many coins of Carausius (I do not think of any other prince) which have been stamped upon money already in circulation, of some earlier emperors—Gallienus, Claudius, Postumus, Victorinus, and both the Tetrici. Some of these, from the imperfection of the later work, exhibit confused and curious mixtures of the old and new heads, reverses, and inscriptions. They suggest that haste in the issue of a new coinage, which might arise under the emergency of a sudden political revolution, in a place such as Gessoriacum (Boulogne) may be supposed to have been, when Carausius first

assumed the purple there, where the proper supply of metal and plant for such an operation might not have been at hand.

It will be seen from the tabulated summary above given, that, of the whole number of coins in the Blackmoor hoard, more than fourteen-fifteenths belong to the period between A.D. 238 and A.D. 274; and of these (excluding all the coins of Aurelian) 19,877 are coins of the provincial empire, which was established by Postumus in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, A.D. 258, and continued till the conquest of Tetricus by Aurelian, A.D. 274, and which I shall call the Gallo-British Empire. 8,243 are coins of the emperors who reigned at Rome during the establishment and continuance of that Gallo-British Empire; viz. Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius; and, of this number, only forty-eight are earlier than the captivity of Valerian. There are also six coins (six only), of earlier date than the accession of Valerian.

Of the period subsequent to A.D. 274 (reckoning into that period, for the sake of convenience, all the coins of Aurelian), there are altogether 1660. Of these, 635 are coins of the British Provincial Empire, established by Carausius A.D. 287, which continued till the death of Allectus, A.D. 297. The rest are Roman.

I am not, I think, mistaken in believing that throughout England the coins of the Gallo-British Empire, and of the Roman emperors contemporary with it, are found in much larger quantities than any others.

From these facts I draw the conclusion that the power of the Gallo-British Empire was thoroughly established in this country; that British trade and industry (of the prosperity of which a large circulation of money is good evidence) flourished greatly under it; that it carried on

an active commerce with the rest of the Roman world, involving a very free circulation of Roman as well as provincial money; and that the British Provincial Empire was practically a revival, after an interval of thirteen years, of the Gallo-British. Carausius was himself a Belgian of the Low Countries; some of the events of the reign of Probus (the revolt of Proculus and Bonosus in Gaul; an insurrection, probably contemporaneous with it, in Britain; and the settlement by Probus of a large body of German captives in Britain, as a reserved force against the natives) indicate that the provinces, which, after the defeat of Tetricus, had suffered greatly from anarchy, German invasions, and piratical incursions, were on the look out for an opportunity of recovering their independence; and the EXPECTATE VENI, on some of the earliest coins of Carausius, proves that his arrival in this country was neither unexpected nor unwelcome. The remarkable predominance also of coins with the legend PAX AUG., under Tetricus and Carausius, seems to me to prove that, under these two princes, there was a real enjoyment of peace, of considerable duration. Perhaps the VICTORIA GERMA, of Carausius, may be a record of his success in a combat with those Germans, whom Probus left as a military cōlony in Britain.

The same facts lead me to conclude that the Blackmoor hoard belonged, either (as I think most probable) to the Government, or to subjects, of the British Provincial Empire; because, while the provincials would naturally use the Roman, it is not at all probable that the Romans would use the provincial coinage of princes whom they regarded as usurpers and rebels; still less, that they would use it in a proportion so largely preponderating over their own.

The coins of Aurelian in this hoard illustrate that passage of history (about which Gibbon was inclined to be incredulous) which represents him as having provoked a formidable insurrection at Rome, in which several thousands of his soldiers lost their lives, by a reform of the Roman mint. There is not, indeed, anything commemorative of such an insurrection; but of some reform of the mint by Aurelian there is here very good evidence. The Roman imperial coinage attains its lowest point of degradation under Claudius and Quintillus; and, in this hoard, there are between twenty and thirty coins of Aurelian (doubtless of the early part of his reign) in the same very debased style, on which his head generally bears a close resemblance to the heads on the posthumous, and on many other, coins of Claudius. From these there is an abrupt and striking transition to a careful, artistic, and elaborate style of design and execution, and a good and uniform standard of size, weight, and quality, which is maintained not only in the rest of Aurelian's coins, but in those of all the succeeding Roman emperors till the end of the series, though not in those of Carausius. One of the historians who mention Aurelian's reform of the mint (Zosimus) adds, that he called in the debased coinage of his predecessors; and it is not difficult to suppose that such a measure might excite a serious popular panic and tumult, which a mere prospective reform hardly could do. It has occurred to me that this may perhaps explain the great numerical preponderance, in this hoard and elsewhere in Britain, of the coins of Gallienus, while sole emperor, and of Claudius, over those of all the other Roman emperors. Those coins, when called in by Aurelian at Rome, must have formed a very large part of the provincial circulation, and after that event, having ceased

to be a legal tender at Rome, their currency would naturally be provincial only.

In the coins of the provincial empires there may, I think, be found illustrations of two passages in the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar; in one of which he tells us that, in his time, the governing class in Gaul was divided into two orders, the priestly order, or Druids, and the military order, or "knights," whom the rest of the people followed in war, as their retainers or serfs. Several varieties of the military coins of Postumus, in the Blackmoor hoard, commemorate the "concord," the "fidelity," the "peace" and the "valour" of "the knights," whom I do not find mentioned in the legends upon the coinage of any other prince. The other passage of Cæsar is that in which, after describing the Druidical superstition, he says that the Gallic tribes worshipped chiefly Mercury, and "after him, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, of whom their ideas are much the same as those of other nations." The religious class of coins is by no means so frequent, if I may judge from the Blackmoor hoard (and this inference is confirmed by Cohen's Catalogue) in the provincial coinage, as in the Roman; and the only Roman divinities represented on any of the provincial reverses in this hoard are Apollo (on coins of Tetricus and Carausius), Mars (on coins of Victorinus and Carausius), Jupiter (on coins of Postumus and Carausius), Minerva (on coins of Postumus); and, on coins of Postumus, "returning Neptune," Hercules and Serapis. Hercules, the deified impersonation of strength working for civilisation, had his representatives in the mythologies of all ancient nations; and Postumus seems to have been more devoted to him than any other prince,—more, even, than Maximian, who called himself "Herculius." The legend

"Neptuno Reduci" (Neptune being represented with his trident) I associate with another coin of Postumus, on which we read "Lætitia Aug.," accompanied by the device of a war-ship at sea. Both seem to me to show that the founder of the Gallo-British Empire was then already aspiring to that naval power which afterwards constituted the strength of Britain, under Carausius and Allectus. Why Postumus should have been a worshipper of the Egyptian deity Serapis, I do not know, unless Serapis also was associated (as, from some coins of Julian the Apostate, seems probable) with maritime power.

S.

CATALOGUE OF BLACKMOOR COINS.[1]

GORDIANUS PIUS.

1. (No. 214 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

2. *Obv.*—Imp. Gordianus Pius Fel. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Felicita. Temp. Figure as in No. 228 of Cohen.

PHILIPPUS.

(Not described in Cohen.)

1. *Obv.*—Imp. Philippus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Aeternitas Augg. Device as in No. 129 of Cohen.

OTACILIA.

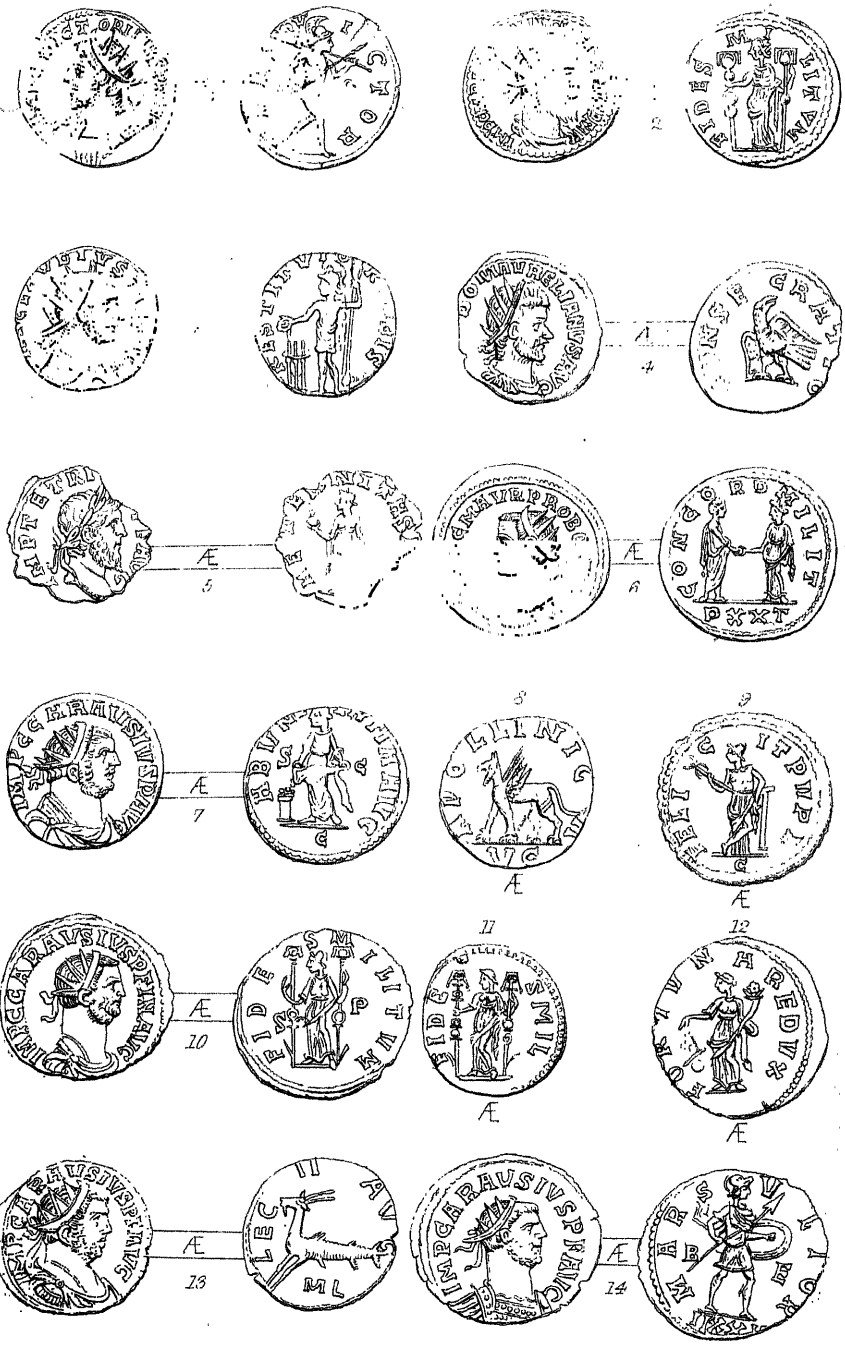
(Not described in Cohen.)

1. *Obv.*—M. Otacil. Severa Aug.

Rev.—Concordia Augg. Device as in No. 3 of Cohen.

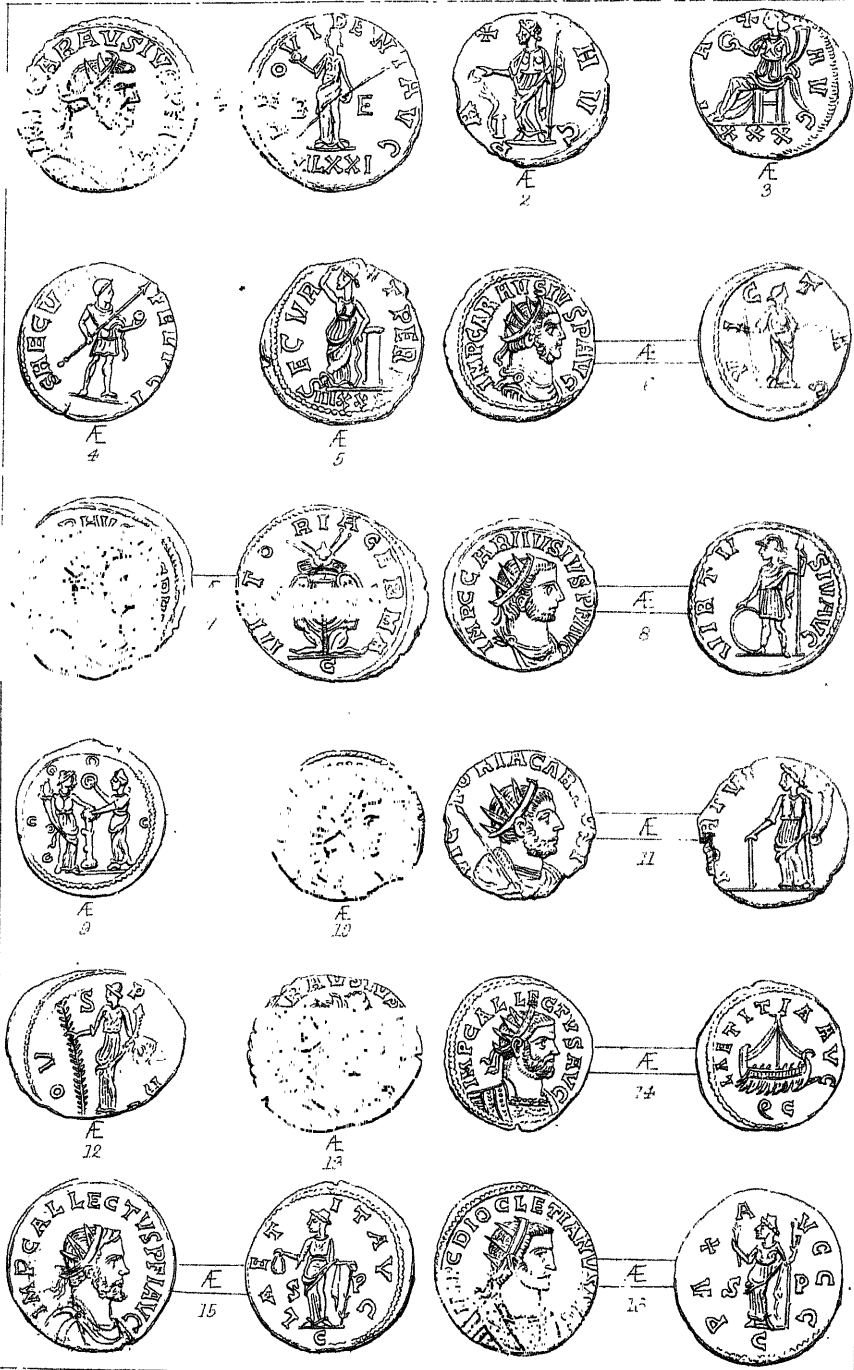
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[1] The letters between brackets in the legends signify that the letters so printed are effaced and are supplied more or less from conjecture.



J. J. Lees.

THE BLACKMOOR HOARD. PL. I.



F. T. Lees

THE BLACKMOOR HOARD, PL. II.

GALLUS.

(Not described in Cohen.)

1. *Obv.*—Imp. Cae. C. Vib. Treb. Gallus Aug. Small coin; head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pietas Augg. Device without altar or letter; otherwise like No. 106 of Cohen.

VOLUSIANUS.

(Not described in Cohen.)

1. *Obv.*—Imp. Cae. C. Vib. Volusiano Aug. Small coin: head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—P. M. Tr. P. IIII. Cos. II. Device as in No. 109 of Cohen.

VALERIANUS.

1—13. (Nos. 14, 16, 17, 36, 40, 41, 42, 57, 72, 83, 86, 88, 113 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

14. *Obv.*—Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Victoria Augg. Victory standing to left; palm-branch in left hand, right hand resting on a shield.

15. *Obv.*—Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Victoria Augg. Victory standing to left, with crown in right hand.

16. *Obv.*—Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Virtus Augg. Soldier helmeted, standing to left; spear in left hand; right hand resting on a shield.

VALERIANUS, Junior.

1. (No. 4 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

2. *Obv.*—Valerianus P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Providentia Aug. Figure standing to left; straight sceptre in left hand; in right a short staff, pointed at a globe below.

GALLIENUS.

1—126. (Nos. 28, 34, 39, 41, 42, 53, 54, 58, 59, 6 Supp., 7 Supp., 61, 66, 74, 81, 88, 97, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 116, 117, 118, 121, 129, 134, 144, 151, 152, 166, 168, 169, 170, 175, 183, 191, 194, 198, 200, 204, 206, 216, 227, 230, 242, 29 Supp., 244, 249, 259, 314, 327, 332, 35 Supp., 337, 338, 340, 342, 354, 355, 362, 366, 367, 372, 373, 376, 384, 385, 390, 393, 395, 398, 401, 404, 410, 415, 438, 440, 442, 444, 460, 462, 464, 466, 467, 470, 476, 478, 500, 503, 504, 512, 514, 517, 518, 519, 524, 526, 532, 541, 543, 552, 561, 578, 582, 587, 600, 608, 620, 627, 649, 650, 654, 656, 661, 670, 676, 694, 706 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

127. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed; *small*.

Rev.—ABUNDANT. AUG. Figure partially effaced; seems like the next.

128. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head laureated, to right; bust unclothed; *small*.

Rev.—ABUNDANTIA AUG. Figure to right, holding with both hands a shovel, from which grain is dropping.

129. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—AEQUIT. AUG. Device like No. 33 of Cohen.

130. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as in last.

Rev.—AEQUTAS AUG. (*sic*). Figure standing to left; large balance in right hand; cornucopiæ in left.

131. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—AETERN. AUG. M T on exergue. Figure, with radiated head, standing to right, and looking back; right hand uplifted to left; in left hand a globe.

132. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. (*sic*). Head as before.

Rev.—AETERNITA. AUG. Figure standing to left; right hand uplifted; in left hand a scourge.

133. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament.

Rev.—ANNONA AUG. Figure to left, with cornucopiæ in left hand; right hand holding a bunch of corn downwards, over a basket with a curved and pointed end, from which a small animal seems to be creeping up her.

134. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AU. Head radiated, to right: bust unclothed.

Rev.—CO. CON[SECRAT]. On exergue, XXX; device, an altar, with flames rising from the centre; altar in four square panels, with a boss in the middle of each.

135. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as in last.

Rev.—DIANAE CONS. AUG. On exergue ϵ; device as in No. 105 of Cohen.

136. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—DIANAE CONS. AUG. Device, an animal (a hind, or a dog)? sitting.

137. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—DIANAE CONS. AUG. Device, an antelope, to left, running.

138. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—FELICI[TAS AUGUS]TI. Figure standing to left; caduceus in right hand; cornucopiæ in left.

139. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head laureated, to right; bust unclothed; *small*.

Rev.—FIDES MILITUM. Figure standing to left, with standard in right hand, and straight sceptre in left.

140. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to left; bust unclothed.

Rev.—FORTUNA REDUX. S on right of field; device, Fortune standing to left.

141. *Obv.*—[Imp. Gallie]nus Aug. Head to right, with radiated helmet; bust, with paludament over cuirass, and ? shield in front ?

Rev.—Fortun[a Redu]x. S on field; device, Fortune standing to left, with cornucopiæ in left hand; right hand on a ship's helm, which rests on a globe.

142. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head radiated, to left; bust with cuirass ?

Rev.—Jovi Cons. Aug. S on exergue; device, a goat, to right.

143. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Jovi. I. Statori. N on right of field; Jupiter standing to left, with straight sceptre in right hand, and thunderbolt in left.

144. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament, or ? cuirass ?

Rev.—Vovi Statori (*sic*). Device as in the last, except that Jupiter is standing to the right.

145. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Jovi Victori. Jupiter standing to left, with thunderbolt in right hand, and straight sceptre in left.

146. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head as in last.

Rev.—Jovi Ultori. S on field; device as in No. 242 of Cohen.

147. *Obv.*—Gallienus Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Libero Cons. Aug. B on exergue; panther, to left.

148. *Obv.*—Imp. Gallienus P. F. Aug. Germ. Head radiated, to right, comparatively youthful; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—Oriens Augg. Figure with radiated head, standing to left; right hand uplifted; in left hand, a scourge.

149. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS P. F. AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament.

Rev.—ORIENS AUG. P on exergue; figure as in the last.

150. *Obv.*—IMP. GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust with cuirass, also unclothed.

Rev.—PAX AUGUSTI. V on left of field, when obverse has cuirass; device, Peace standing to left; olive-branch in right hand, transverse sceptre in left.

151. *Obv.*—IMP. GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—PROVID. AUG. M T on exergue; device as in No. 49, Cohen's Supp.

152. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as in the last.

Rev.—PROVIDENT. AUG. Figure standing to left, with globe in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left.

153. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—SALUS AUG. Figure to left, feeding a serpent, which rises from an altar; in left hand straight sceptre, with a streamer at top.

154. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—SECURIT. ORBIS. Figure to left with legs crossed; straight sceptre in right hand; left elbow resting on a short column.

155. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—SOLI CONS. AUG. Winged horse, to left.

156. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—UBERITAS AUG. Figure standing to left, holding balance in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

157. *Obv.*—IMP. G[ALLIENUS] P. F. AUG. GERM. Head radiated, to right, like that of Valerian; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AUGG. Defaced:—seems to be Victory, standing to right, with right hand resting on a shield.

158. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to left; bust with paludament.

Rev.—VIRTUS AUG. P on field; soldier, helmeted, standing to left; in right hand a globe; in left a straight spear.

159. *Obv.*—IMP. GALLIENUS P. F. AUG. G. M. Head radiated, to right, comparatively youthful; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—VIRTUS AUGG. Soldier, to right, with trophy over left shoulder, and transverse spear in right hand.

160. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust with cuirass, also unclothed.

Rev.—VIRTUS AUGG. Soldier, to left, with trophy over left shoulder, and transverse spear in right hand.

161. *Obv.*—GALLIENUS AUG. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—VOTIS X ET XX. Legend within a circular wreath of bay-leaves.

SALONINA.

1—30. (Nos. 14, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 71, 72, 77, 79, 3 Supp., 82, 84, 87, 91, 94, 97 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

31. *Obv.*—SALONINA AUG. Bust robed, springing out of crescent; head with diadem.

Rev.—CONCORD. AUG. Figure seated, to left, holding crown in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

32. *Obv.*—SALONINA AUG. Bust as in the last.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AET. Figure as in the last.

33. *Obv.*—COR. SALONINA AUG. Bust as before.

Rev.—DIANAE CONS. AUG. Δ on exergue; device, stag to left.

34. *Obv.*—SALONINA AUG. Bust as before.

Rev.—JUNO AUG. M S on exergue; device, as in No. 42 of Cohen, except that the hand holds a flower downwards, not upwards.

35. *Obv.*—Corn. Salonina Aug. Bust as before.

Rev.—[P. M.] Tr. P. VII. Cos. M S on exergue; device, figure seated to left, holding patera in right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

36. *Obv.*—Salonina Aug. Bust as before.

Rev.—Pudicit. Aug. Device, figure standing to left, drawing a veil over her face with right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

37. *Obv.*—Salonina Aug. Bust as before.

Rev.—Pudicitia Aug. VI on exergue; figure seated, to left; right hand held up to veil; in left hand, transverse sceptre.

38. *Obv.*—Salonina Aug. Bust as before.

Rev.—Venus Gentrix (*sic*). Figure standing to left; in left hand, straight sceptre; in right hand a bird or toy, which she holds out to a child below.

39. *Obv.*—Salonina Aug. Bust as before.

Rev.—Venus Victrix. Figure standing, to left; a child before her, on the left; behind her, on the right, a shield.

SALONINUS.

1—3. (Nos. 7, 10, 38 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

4. *Obv.*—P. Lic Valerianus Caes. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament.

Rev.—Jovi Ultori. S on field; figure standing to left, holding up thunderbolt in right hand; scourge in left hand.

5. *Obv.*—Saloninoninotvs (*sic*). Twice struck; the second legend, reversed, meeting the first; neck unclothed, disturbed by the second stroke.

Rev.—. . . . Publica. Usual figure of "*Spes*"; legend partly effaced by second stroke.

? QUINTUS JULIUS GALLIENUS (*doubtful*).

(Not described in Cohen.)

1. *Obv.*—. . ALLEINVS . . . Head radiated, to right; face long, thin, and youthful, with long Grecian nose, and? peaked beard, quite unlike Gallienus. The coin is small, defaced in the lower part, and flattened on the cheek and chin.

   Rev.—P[AX] AVGG. Figure of Peace, standing to left; in right hand a branch with three large leaves; in left hand, straight spear.

2. *Obv.*—GALLIENVS . . . . Head radiated, to right, more like the common type of Gallienus than the last; the coin is broken and defaced on the right side, and in the lower part.

   Rev.—[QV.] IVL. [G]A[L.] Device, an altar with three upright flames, the central one highest; the altar has four square panels, and two horns.

POSTUMUS.

1—38. (Nos. 13, 22, 23, 27, 32, 37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 70, 79, 81, 83, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 102, 104, 114, 129, 136, 151, 156, 158, 165, 168, 169, 170, 176, 184, 191, 195, 196 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

39. *Obv.*—IMP. POSTVMVS AVG. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament.

   Rev.—CONCORD. EQVIT. S on exergue; figure erect, to left, holding in right hand a patera, and a ship's helm in left; at her feet a basket or vessel with curved handle.

40. *Obv.*—IMP. C. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG. Head as in last.

   Rev.—CONCORD. EQVIT. S on exergue; device as in the last.

41. *Obv.*—[IMP. C. POSTV]MVS P. F. AVG. Head as before.

   Rev.—[PIETA]S AVG. On exergue ✱; female figure standing to left, with right hand extended over an altar, on which are round cakes.

42. *Obv.*—Imp. Postumus Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Virtus] Equit. Soldier marching to right; transverse spear in right hand, and trophy over left shoulder.

LAELIANUS.

1. (No. 3 of Cohen.)

VICTORINUS.

1—23. (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 14, 20, 21, 23 (Pl. I. 2), 26, 29, 30, 36, 48, 49, 51, 57, 59, 65, 69, 70, 75, 76, 80, 82 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

24. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—Comes Aug. Figure helmeted, standing to right, with spear erect in right hand; left hand resting on a shield.

25. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament.

Rev.—Fides Militum. Device as in No. 20 of Cohen.

26. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Piavvonius Victorinus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Invictus. ✳ on field; device, as in No. 29 of Cohen.

27. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to left, with cuirass; sceptre over right shoulder, shield over left.

Rev.—Mars Victor. Naked figure, helmeted, marching to right; transverse spear in right hand, trophy over left shoulder. (Pl. I. 1.)

28. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace, with branch in right hand; straight sceptre in left.

29. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pas Aug. Device as in the last.

30. *Obv.*—. . . Vicrorinvs ҁ· ь. . . . (*sic*). Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Vag. I, large, on left of field; device, a soldier in short tunic, standing to left, holding up a branch in right hand; in left hand a straight spear.

31. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus [Aug.] Head as before.

Rev.—Salus Augg. (*sic*). Figure standing to left, feeding serpent by altar; in her left hand a staff.

32. *Obv.*—J. C. Victorinus Aug. I. Head radiated, to right; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—Aii iii iii Aug. (*sic*). *Annona?* device, figure standing to left, with cornucopiæ in left hand, and short beaded staff below, but not in, right hand.

33. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus. Head radiated, to right; lower part defaced; *small*.

Rev.—C. A. O. Figure standing to left, holding up branch in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

34. *Obv.*—[Imp. C. Vic]torinus P. F. [Aug.] Head as in the last.

Rev.—Iꟾ . . . II. (*sic*). ✻ on right of field; device, a single vase, without any other vessel or instrument; handle to the left.

35. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Victorinus P. F. Aug. Head radiated to right, with paludament.

Rev.—. . . . IC. Aug. Soldier, clothed and helmeted, standing to right, with transverse spear in right hand, and trophy over left shoulder.

MARIUS.

1—6. (Nos. 4, 8, 13, 16, 18, 19 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

7. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Marius Aug. Head radiated to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Victoria Aug. Victory, with long flowing robe, moving to right.

8. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Marius P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Victoria Aug. Victory standing to right; a palm-branch over her left shoulder; her right hand resting on a shield.

TETRICUS (AUGUSTUS).

1—21. (Nos. 8 Supp., 46, 53, 57, 63, 67, 71, 72, 74, 84, 89, 90, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119, of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

22. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetri[cus P. F.] Aug. Head laureated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Aeternitas A[ug]. Female figure standing to left, with globe in right hand; her left hand holds the train of her dress. (Pl. I. 5.)

23. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Concordia Aug. Figure standing to left; patera in right hand, cornucopiæ in left.

24. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus Aug. Head as in the last; *small*.

Rev.—Felicit. Aug. Figure standing to left; patera, held over an altar, in right hand; cornucopiæ in left.

25. *Obv.*—Imp. C. P. Esu. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament; also with cuirass.

Rev.—Fides Militum. Device as in No. 53 of Cohen.

26. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. P. Esuvius Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Fides Militum.

27. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; *small.*

Rev.—Ilaritas Aug. (*sic*). Device as in No. 64 of Cohen.

28. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament; *small.*

Rev.—Laeti. Aug. Figure standing to left, with wreath in right hand; left hand leaning on staff.

29. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Lae[ti Aug.] Device as in the last.

30. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetrius P. F. Aug. (*sic*). Head as before.

Rev.—Ori[ens Aug]. X on left of field; figure moving to left, holding a branch downwards in right hand; mantle floating behind.

31. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus Aug. Head as before; *small.* (This coin has been lost.)

Rev.—Paix Augg. (*sic*). Figure standing to left, with a sceptre in each hand; that in the right hand forked at top.

32. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. V ✱ on field; device, Peace standing to left, with branch in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left; on the right side, what seems to be a palm-branch or trunk springs from the ground.

33. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. In. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Figure to left, bending forward, branch in right hand, and sceptre, bent in the upper part, in left hand.

34. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Inv. C. Head radiated, to right; neck defaced.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Figure to left, holding in right hand a five-leaved branch; in left hand straight sceptre.

35. *Obv.*—[Imp. C. Tetricus] Invic. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Usual figure of Peace to left, with straight sceptre in left hand.

36. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as in the last.

37. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricu. P. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace to left, with branch in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left.

38. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus F. Aug. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Pax Aug. X on field, over branch; device, Peace to left, holding in right hand branch, lower than usual; in left hand straight sceptre.

39. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. Usual figure, with straight sceptre in left hand.

40. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace, to left, holding branch in right hand, below which is an altar, or ? a modius; in left hand she holds a palm-branch.

41. *Obv.*—Imp. [Tetricus Aug.] Head as in the last; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace, to left; in right hand, branch; in left, cornucopiæ.

42. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—[Pax] Augg. ✱ on left of field; figure standing to left, holding in right hand the usual branch? but defaced; left hand concealed in folds of robe, which has a large open loop behind.

43. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pax Augg. Usual figure, with straight sceptre in left hand.

44. *Obv.*—Imp. Te[tricus P. F.] Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug[g.] XXX on exergue; device, a high narrow vase, with other instruments of sacrifice.

45. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus A[ug.] Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right; neck defaced: *small.*

Rev.—Pas A[ug]usti. Usual figure of Peace, with straight sceptre in left hand.

46. *Obv.*—[Imp. C. Tetric]us P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Pietas Augg. Device, high narrow vase, handle to left, with other instruments of sacrifice.

47. *Obv.*—[Imp.] Tetricus P. [Aug.] Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Piet. Aug. IX on exergue; device, high narrow vase, handle to right, with other instruments of sacrifice.

48. *Obv.*—[Imp.] C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Princ. Juvent. Device, a youth standing to left, with flower, held downwards, in right hand; in left hand, straight sceptre.

49. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. [tricu.]. Head radiated, to right, cut off below neck by a second intersecting stamp, by which the top of head and part of legend is repeated.

Rev.—Pudicitia Aug. N. Device, a female figure standing to left; right hand extended downwards, as if to lay it on some object; but the lower part is defaced by the second stroke; left hand concealed in robe.

50. *Obv.*—C. Tetricus P. Au. Head radiated, to right; neck defaced; face large and peculiar, resembling the type of the heads on the Assyrian monuments; *small.*

Rev.—[Sa]aus Ag. (*sic*). Device, figure standing to left, dropping offerings on an altar below; in left hand a straight sceptre.

51. *Obv.*—[Imp. Tetri]cus P. Aug. Head radiated, to right; peculiar, barbarous, with cuirass; *small.*

Rev.—S[alu]s Aug. On exergue a row of eight dots; device, figure to left, holding in right hand a patera, with a round cake on it, above an altar, on which are three round cakes; her breasts bare; her left hand leaning on a short staff; a serpent rises beside the altar.

52. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, holding up a crown in right hand, below which the stem of a tree or shrub, covered with buds, rises from the ground; in her left hand a palm-branch.

53. *Obv.*—Imp. C. T[etricus P. F.] Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[Sa]lus Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding a serpent, which rises from an altar or pot; in her left hand a straight sceptre.

54. *Obv.*—[C. Tet]ricus P. F. A. Head as in the last; *small.*

Rev.—Salus [Aug.] Figure standing to left, making offerings on an altar, beside which rises a serpent; in her left hand she holds a ship's helm or anchor.

55. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Spes Aug. Device, figure standing to left; right hand held downwards, over an altar, with a serpent? rising beside it; left hand resting upon a staff, or? ship's helm.

56. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus [P. Inv]ic. Head radiated, to right, barbarous, with beard sharp and rough; bust with cuirass. In the legend the name is spread out, the rest crowded.

Rev.—Spes Aug[g.] Usual figure of a youth, holding up a flower in right hand, with left hand holding the train of his gown.

57. *Obv.*—Imp. Te[tricus P. F. Aug.] Head radiated, to right, with cuirass, of a fine type.

Rev.—Spes [Augg.] Figure fine and clear; device, a youth fronting the spectator, holding up a flower to left, towards which his head is turned; he wears a richly-embroidered tunic, with a gown behind, of which his left hand holds the train.

58. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. P. Esu. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Spes Publica. Device as in No. 111 of Cohen.

59. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus Aug. Head as in the last; neck defaced.

Rev.—Spes Publica. Device as in the last.

60. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus (*sic*). Head as before, of the elder Tetricus.

Rev.—Victoria A. C. Device, a winged Victory standing to left; crown in right hand, palm-branch in left.

61. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. P. Esu. Tetricus Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Victoria Aug. Device as in No. 116 of Cohen.

62. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus [P. F.] Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—[Virt]us Aug. Figure standing, capped, to left, holding up branch in right hand, and straight spear in left.

63. *Obv.*—Imp. P. Tetr◁us [P. Aug.] (*sic*). Head radiated, to right, barbarous, with rough whisker and beard; bust with paludament; letters of legend barbarous.

Rev.—Virtu[s Augg]. Soldier standing to left, in tunic; branch in right hand; left hand resting on shield.

64. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—V. A. C. Device, a large full-bodied vase, handle to right, with other instruments of sacrifice.

65. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last, of a good type.

Rev.—Ivvitas Vgg. (*sic*). Female figure robed, standing to left, her right hand extended, as if speaking; her left hand resting on a short staff.

66. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetris P. F. Aug. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right; neck defaced; *small*.

Rev.—Laa. Aug. Female figure, robed, standing to right, holding a crown downwards; her left hand rests on a staff.

67. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. F. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; *small.*

Rev.—Pi. Ve. V. . . Female figure, robed, standing to left, holding downwards, in right hand, a short sword? the left elbow bent at right angles to the body, and fore-arm extended behind.

68. *Obv.*—Ciatiiylliic . . *Sic*, as far as barbarous letters, imperfectly formed, can be made out; head radiated, to right; *small.*

Rev.— ꝏILIꝏ. *Sic*, seeming to be barbaric for "*Salus.*" Device, a barbaric figure, naked to middle, fronting the spectator; her right hand holds a patera, above a serpent rising beside an altar; her left hand rests on an anchor?

69. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament; *small.*

Rev.—Svidvs Au. The two first letters are defaced, not certain; the rest is clear. Device, female figure, robed, with radiated crown, standing to left; in her right hand a patera; her left hand rests on an anchor?

70. *Obv.*—Iiiyi C. Tetricus ꟻ. ꟻ. Aug. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—. . . . . TI. VG. (*sic*). Device, figure standing to left; laureate? with long palm-branch in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

71. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, very clear; *small.*

Rev.—. ublic. The legend seems to have been "*Publica*" only. Figure, very clear, of a youth standing to left, holding in his right hand a sprig of bay or olive, and in left the train of his gown; robed in tunic, with gown behind.

72. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. Tet . . . . . Head radiated, to right, barbarous, with paludament.

Rev.—. . . . ɔV. Figure to left, holding up short palm-branch in right hand; left hand resting on ? an anchor.

73. *Obv.*—Imp. Tet . . . . . ug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament, rather fine, but partly defaced; *small.*

Rev.—. . X . J . . . Device seems to be, figure standing to left, with patera in right hand, and ? helm of ship in left.

74. *Obv.*—Imp. Tetricus P. Aug. Head as in the last; a fine and nearly perfect obverse of a very small coin.

Rev.—. . . Aug. Peace standing to left, holding up right hand, which is cut off; in left hand, long straight sceptre.

75. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricu . . . I. C. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; barbarous.

Rev.—. . . . u.:G. Figure to left; right hand held up, cut off; beside her, to left, is the lower part of a sceptre, or spear, above which, at the back of her shoulder, is either a cornucopiæ or wings, defaced.

76. *Obv.*—Imp . . . . . cus P . . . . Head radiated, to right, with paludament; *small.*

Rev.—. . . . Au . . Barbarous figure of soldier standing to left, with crested helmet; right hand cut off; in left a straight sceptre.

77. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Tetricus . . . Head radiated, to right; neck defaced; *very small.*

Rev.—. . . . . Au. Figure indistinct; seems to be standing to left with radiated head, and right hand extended; left hand holding ? a ship's helm.

78. *Obv.*— . . . . . CUS AU. Head radiated, to right, very barbarous, much defaced, and worn nearly square; there seem to be marks of intersection under the neck by a second stroke.

Rev.—(Blank.) XXX on exergue? the middle X only clear. Device, a bird's-eye view of a pyramidal altar, square, with two steps on each side, below the top; on right side three points, as if flames, at right angles to the base; on top side, two converging lines, as of flame, thus Λ; on left side, two diverging lines, thus V; there are traces of a row of dots, or ciphers, all round.

76. *Obv.*—IM . . . . . A . . Head radiated, to right, barbarous, with cuirass.

Rev.—VIIAX. X on left of field, right side of coin defaced. Device, figure moving rapidly to left, with head radiated; right hand uplifted; an inclined short sceptre passing behind the body, in left hand. The figure is naked, and resembles the device on the "*Oriens*" and "*Invictus*" of some princes.

TETRICUS (CÆSAR).

1—13. (Nos. 8, 12, 19, 22, 26, 30, 34, 35, 36, 47, 49, 50, 52 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

14. *Obv.*—IMP. C. TIITRIC[US CAES.] (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus, very small, radiated, to right, with paludament; *small coin*.

Rev.—[ABU]NDANT A[UGG.] Figure standing to left, holding right hand over an altar; cornucopiæ in left hand.

15. *Obv.*—[C. PI.] ES. TETRICUS CAES. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—ABUNDATIAN (*sic*). Device, vase with handle to right; smaller vessel below to left.

16. *Obv.*—Imp. Esu. Tetricus Caes. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Invictus. ✱ on left of field; figure moving to left; right hand uplifted; in left hand a scourge.

17. *Obv.*—C. Piu. [Esu.] Tetricus Caes. Head radiated, to right, barbarous, with paludament.

Rev.—ƧVTOIVNI (*sic*). ✱ on right of field; figure moving to right; right hand uplifted; in left hand a scourge.

18. *Obv.*—C. P. Es. Tetricus Caes. Head radiated, to right, not so young-looking as usual, with paludament.

Rev.—[Hilari]tas Aug. Device nearly effaced; but seems to be figure standing to left, with palm-branch in right hand, and straight sceptre in left.

19. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Tetricus Aug. Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—[Pax] Aug. Figure standing to left, with an upright palm-branch in each hand.

20. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Tetricus Caes. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[Pax] Aug. Figure standing to left, with palm-branch in left hand, and ? crown in right.

21. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Titricus [Caes.] (*sic*). Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device, the same figure which is common in "*Spes.*"

22. *Obv.*—[C. P]iu. Tetricus F. I. C[aes.] (*sic*). Head as before; *small.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. V ✱ on field; Peace standing to left, holding up branch in right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

23. *Obv.*—V. Es. Tetri[cus] Caes. Head radiated to right, very young, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Usual figure of Peace, to left; straight sceptre in left hand.

24. *Obv.*—C. P. Es. Tetricus Caes. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as in the last.

25. *Obv.*—C. P. E. Tetricus Caes. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pietas Augg. Device, vase with handle to right, and other instruments of sacrifice.

26. *Obv.*—[C. Piu.] Esu. Tetricus Caes.—Head as before.

Rev.—Pie[tas Au]gg. Device as in the last.

27. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Tetricus C[aes.]. Head as before.

Rev.—Salus. Figure standing to left, feeding serpent, by an altar, with her right hand; in her left hand a ship's helm or anchor.

28. *Obv.*—C. P. Es. Tetricus C[aes.]. Head as before.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Device as in the last, except that the serpent seems to be rising out of an altar or pot.

29. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Tetricus Caes. Head radiated to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Salus Augg. Device as in the last, except that the serpent is rising from the base of an altar.

30. *Obv.*—[C. Pi. Esu. Tetricus Caes.]. Head radiated, to right; neck defaced.

Rev.—Salus Au[gg.] Female figure standing to right, with face turned to left, and prominent breasts; her right hand rests on a staff with a serpent closely twined round it; her left hand is concealed in her robe.

31. *Obv.*—Piu. Esu. Tetricus Au. (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to left, with paludament; *small.*

Rev.—Salus [Aug]g. (*sic*). Usual figure of *Salus*, feeding a serpent, by an altar.

32. *Obv.*—C . ꟻIVS . IƎITIOVƧ . C (*sic*). Head radiated to right, comparatively old, barbarous, with paludament.

Rev.—SPES AVGG. (*sic*). Usual figure of *Spes*, to left.

33. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Tetricus Caes. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Spus Publica. (*sic*). Usual figure of *Spes*, to left.

34. *Obv.*—Es. Tetricus Caes. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Victori Aug. II. Device, a figure like Peace, without wings, standing to left; an olive-branch in her right hand, and a straight sceptre in her left.

35. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. Tetricus Caes. Head as before.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. Device, a soldier standing to left, in military dress, helmeted; right hand resting on shield; in left hand a straight spear.

36. *Obv.*—C. Piu. Esu. T. C . . . . (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus, very small, radiated, to right, with paludament; *small coin.*

Rev.—. . . . . N . Augg. Figure to right, holding sceptre in right hand, and ? globe in left; *Quære* "*Astern. Augg.*"?

37. *Obv.*—Vietacvsvnt . . . (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus, almost infantine, radiated, to right.

Rev.—. . . V. I. AGG. (*sic*). Device, usual figure of "*Salus*," feeding a serpent by an altar, and holding a ship's helm, or anchor, in left hand.

38. *Obv.*—Pi. . Tetricu . A. (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Aiita. (*sic*). Usual figure of "*Spes*," to left.

39. *Obv.*—P. E. . Titric. Au. (*sic*). Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—II. . SIA. (*sic*). Usual figure of "*Spes*," to left.

40. *Obv.*—. . . u. Tetricus C. P. I. Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—. . . . Augg. Usual figure of "*Spes*," to left.

41. *Obv.*—IIV. . . . . icus Au. Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—. . i . . . . Usual figure of "*Spes*," to left.

42. *Obv.*—[Legend wholly effaced.] Head of the younger Tetricus radiated, to right.

Rev.—[Ditto.] Head as on obverse.

CLAUDIUS (GOTHICUS).

84. (Nos. 2 Supp., 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 3 Supp., 33, 35, 36,'38, 39, 40, 55 *Note*, 49, 6 Supp., 52, 67, 68, 70, 8 Supp., 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 99, 101, 102, 103, 109, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119, 124, 125, 126, 130, 138, 144, 145, 146, 148, 153, 155, 158, 159, 162, 165, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 183, 189, 18 Supp., 190, 193, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 213, 214, 215, 221, 223, 224, 227 of Cohen.)

Not described in Cohen.)

85. *Obv.*—[Imp.] Claudius Caes. [Aug.]. Head radiated, to right, larger and fuller than the common type, with paludament.

Rev.—Aequi[tas Aug.]. Usual figure of "*Aequitas*," nearly effaced.

86. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Claudius Aug. Head small, radiated, to right, with cuirass; *coin fine and large.*

Rev.—Aequitas Aug. S P Q R on exergue; figure to left, with balance in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

87. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Annona Aug. Figure to left, with right knee bent, and foot placed on a basket or vessel with curved handle; right hand turned downwards; cornucopiæ in left hand.

88. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Concord. Exer. Figure standing, to left; standard in right hand, cornucopiæ in left.

89. *Obv.*—Divo Claudio. Head as in the last, neck defaced; *small.*

Rev.—Coniacratio (*sic*). Altar with central fire; front in four panels, with a boss in centre of each panel.

90. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius [Aug.]. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Consecratio. Eagle to left, with head turned to right.

91. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, neck defaced.

Rev.—[Con]secra[tio]. Eagle to right, head turned to left.

92. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Consecratio. Altar with central fire; front in four panels, some with a boss in centre of each panel.

93. *Obv.*—Divo Claudio. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Consecratio. Altar with central fire; front in one panel, with three bosses in the centre, arranged like a triangle, apex downwards.

94. *Obv.*—Divo Claudio. Head as before.

Rev.—Consecratio. Altar with central fire; the front in one panel, with wreath festooned across, from horn to horn, and boss within the wreath.

95. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius P. [F. Aug.]. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Diana Lucif. P on exergue. Device, female figure standing to right, with transverse spear held in both hands.

96. *Obv.*—[Divo] Claudio. Head radiated, to right, neck defaced.

Rev.—Fel[icitas A]ug. Figure as in No. 68 of Cohen.

97. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust sometimes with cuirass, sometimes unclothed.

Rev.—Fides Exerci. Sometimes XI on field. Device as in No. 74 of Cohen.

98. *Obv.*—Divo Claudio. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—[Fi]des E[xe]r[ci.]. Figure to right, with straight standard in right hand; that in left effaced.

99. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, large and fine, with paludament.

Rev.—Fortuna Red. Device as in No. 80 of Cohen.

100. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, small, in very low relief, with cuirass.

Rev.—Fortuna Redux. S P Q R on exergue. Fortune standing to left, with ship's helm in right hand, and globe below; cornucopiæ in left hand.

101. *Obv.*—[Imp.] Claudius [Aug.]. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—GenioEx[erci.]. Device as in No. 88 of Cohen.

102. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Cl[audius] Aug. Head as in the last, upper part defaced, as if by a second stroke.

Rev.—Jov. O. Victori. N on field. Device as in No. 101 of Cohen, partly defaced, but without any apparent disturbance of legend.

103. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Marti Pacif. Figure helmeted, in military dress, standing to left; a shield below on left side; in right hand a branch; in left hand a straight sceptre.

104. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Marti [Pac]ifero. X on left of field. Device, soldier marching to left, shield on his left arm, in his right hand a branch uplifted.

105. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Oriens Aug. Figure moving to left, with right hand uplifted; in left hand a scourge.

106. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—[Orien]s Aug. Sometimes X on exergue. Device as in the last.

107. *Obv.*—Divo Claudio. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Oriens Aug. P on left of field. Device as before.

108. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, sometimes with cuirass, and then of a very small type; sometimes with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace to left, with branch in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left.

109. *Obv.*—Im[p. C. Clau]dius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as in No. 146 of Cohen.

110. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Peace standing to left; branch in right hand; straight sceptre in left.

111. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, not of the common type—more like Marius; neck defaced.

Rev.—Pax [Aug.]. Peace standing to left, with branch, held downwards, in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

112. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; neck defaced.

Rev.—P[ax Au]gust. Peace standing to left, with branch, held up, in right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

113. *Obv.*—[Div]o Clau[dio]. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[Pax] Augus[ti]. A on left of field. Device nearly effaced, but seems to be Peace to left, with transverse sceptre in left hand.

114. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust unclothed.

Rev.—.IT∃VƆVA XA⅂ (*sic*). Usual figure of Peace, with transverse sceptre in left hand.

115. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—P. M. Tr. P. II. Cos. P. P. Device as in No. 153 of Cohen, except that a bird is perched on the bend of the right arm, which holds up a branch.

116. *Obv.*—[Imp. C]laudius Aug. Head as in the last; not of the common type, more like Aurelian.

Rev.—Provid. Aug. Figure to left, holding globe in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left.

117. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Clandius Aug. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right, rather fine, but not clear; bust unclothed.

Rev.—[P]ronid. Nvg. (*sic*). A or ? II on field; figure standing to left, pointing with short staff to globe at her feet; in left hand a straight sceptre.

118. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Providenti. Aug. Figure standing to left, with staff in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

119. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Caes. Aug. Head radiated, to right, fine, with paludament.

Rev.—Restitutor Orbis. Figure standing to left, in military dress, offering cake with right hand, on a burning tripod altar; in left hand a straight sceptre. (Pl. I. 3.)

120. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius [Aug.]. Head as in the last, of a fine type.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding with right hand a serpent, which rises out of an altar or pot; in left hand, transverse sceptre.

121. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Claudius Aug. Head as before; type fine and large.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Device as in the last.

122. *Obv.*—J. P. Claudius P. F. Aug. (*sic*). Head as before; *small coin*.

Rev.—[illegible] A]ug. (*sic*). Usual figure of "*Spes*."

123. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust sometimes with cuirass, sometimes unclothed.

Rev.—Victoria Aug. A on left of field; device, Victory standing to left, with crown in right hand, palm-branch in left.

124. *Obv.*—Imp. Claudius Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust sometimes with paludament, sometimes unclothed.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. Sometimes, with cuirass, Є on field; when unclothed, sometimes Є, sometimes Ɔ, sometimes B, sometimes ✳ I. Device, soldier standing to left, holding up right hand; shield below; in left hand, straight spear.

125. *Obv.*—[Imp. Claudi]us Aug. Head of Claudius radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—[Legend effaced.] II on field. Device, female figure standing to left, with six prominent breasts; branch in right hand; two serrated lines, either faults in the die, or meant to represent palm-branches, extending from right armpit to ground.

QUINTILLUS.

1—19. (Nos. 6, 9, 11, 15, 17, 20, 22, 25, 29, 36, 38, 40, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 55 of Cohen, including two varieties of No. 36.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

20. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Cl. Quintillus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Fortuna Redux. Z on field; sometimes Z on exergue; device as in No. 25 of Cohen.

21. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. [Aur. Cl. Quint]illus Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Provid. [Aug.]. Figure standing to left, with legs crossed, pointing with a staff in her right hand to a pot below; in left hand cornucopiæ; elbow resting on a short column.

22. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Cl. Quintillus Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust with paludament, also unclothed.

Rev.—Temporum Feli. P on field; device, figure standing to left, with caduceus in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

AURELIANUS.

1—49. (Nos. 50, 56, 62, 64, 72, 73, 78, 92, 94, 95, 100, 102, 104, 105, 107, 111, 126, 129, 130, 131, 134, 136, 138, 142, 144, 150, 151, 153, 158, 162, 164, 165, 171, 173, 175, 177, 178, 181, 182, 184, 185, 192, 197, 200, 201, 205, 206, 210, 212 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

50. *Obv.*—Imp. Aurelianus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Concordia Mili. T on exergue; two figures, standing face to face, with a standard on each side, and a third standard between them.

51. *Obv.*—Imp. Aurelianus Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Concord. Milit. T on exergue; a male figure, standing, laureate, facing a female figure; their hands joined; no sceptre.

52. *Obv.*—[Imp. C. L.] Dom. Aurelianus Aug. Head radiated, to right, resembling that of Claudius, with paludament; *a defaced coin.*

Rev.—Consecratio. Device, an eagle, turned to left, with head to right. (Pl. I. 4.)

53. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Aurelianus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Oriens Aug. On exergue, sometimes PM, sometimes PXXT, sometimes QXXT; device, as in No. 138 of Cohen.

54. *Obv.*—Imp. Aurelianus A[ug.] (*sic*). Head radiated, to right; neck defaced; *large coin.*

Rev.—[Res]ti[tutor E]x. C✱P on exergue; legend, and heads of figures, defaced. Device, two figures facing each other; that standing on the right seems to hold two daggers in the left hand; that standing to left holds in right hand a spear inclined forward, and in left hand a globe.

55. *Obv.*—Imp. Aurelianus Aug. Head radiated, to left, resembling that of Claudius, with paludament.

Rev.—Romæ Æterne (*sic*). Device, Rome, seated, to left, holding up a "Victory" in right hand; a straight sceptre in left.

SEVERINA.

1—4. (Nos. 5, 8, 12, 14 of Cohen.)

TACITUS.

1—41. (Nos. 26, 27, 35, 36, 43, 50, 52, 53, 55, 59, 61, 66, 69, 70, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 84, 7 Supp., 85, 86, 93, 97, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 120, 126, 130, 131 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

42. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Cl. Tacitus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Fides Militum. On exergue, sometimes BA, sometimes PL; device, figure standing, to left, between two standards.

43. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Cl. Tacitus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pax Aug. RZ on exergue; peace standing, to left, with branch in right hand and straight sceptre in left.

44. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Cla. Tacitus Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Augusti. Q on exergue; peace standing, to left, with branch in right hand and transverse sceptre in left.

45. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Cl. Tacitus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to left, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Publica. Figure as in the last.

46. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Cl. Tacitus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Providd. Aug. (*sic*). Figure, to left, with staff in right hand and cornucopiæ in left.

47. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Cl. Tacitus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. Figure standing, to left, helmeted, in military dress; straight spear in left hand; right hand resting on a shield.

FLORIANUS.

1—8. (Nos. 21, 26, 35, 42, 72, 73, 85, 87 of Cohen.)

PROBUS.

1—114. (Nos. 102, 121, 122, 124, 125, 139, 147, 154, 166, 168, 169, 188, 198, 199, 200, 204, 208, 211, 216, 227, 229, 231, 238, 255, 259, 260, 261, 264, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273, 284, 289, 299, 306, 307, 311, 312, 315, 317, 320, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 331, 334, 335, 341, 343, 348, 349, 351, 352, 353, 360, 364, 367, 368, 369, 395, 396, 398, 405, 407, 408, 35 Supp., 415, 429, 431, 432, 434, 435, 442, 447, 453, 455, 461, 467, 469, 470, 41 Supp., 475, 483, 488, 495, 501, 504, 506, 517, 524, 526, 537, 538, 546, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 554, 563, 573, 575, 599, 607, 610, 629, 649 of Cohen, including two varieties of No. 546.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

115. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to left; an eagle-sceptre in left hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Adventus Augusti. XXI on exergue; the emperor on horseback, to left; right hand uplifted; in left hand, sceptre; a captive, seated, under uplifted fore-foot of horse.

116. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probo Aug. (*sic*). Head radiated, to left, with sceptre over right shoulder, bust with cuirass under imperial robe.

Rev.—Concord. Milit. PXXT on exergue; two figures, standing face to face, and joining hands. (Pl. I. 6.)

117. *Obv.*—Virtus Probi Aug. Head to left, helmeted; shield over left shoulder; sceptre or sword over right; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—Concord. Milit. DXXT on exergue; device, as in the last.

118. *Obv.*—Virtus Probi Aug. Head to left, radiated; sceptre over right shoulder; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—Jovi Conservat. VXXT on exergue. Device, Jupiter, nude, except a scarf over his shoulders, giving to Probus, who stands facing him on the left, a globe, above which an eagle is sitting or taking flight; in his left hand he holds a straight sceptre.

119. *Obv.*—Virtus Probi Aug. Head to left, helmeted; shield over left shoulder; sceptre or sword over right.

Rev.—Mars Victor. III on exergue; soldier, moving to right, with trophy over left shoulder and transverse spear in right hand.

120. *Obv.*—Virtus Probi Aug. Head radiated, to right; bust robed, with armour beneath.

Rev.—Mars Victor. II on exergue; device, as in the last.

121. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. Cons. III. Head radiated, to left, with eagle-sceptre in right hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Pax Augusti. XXI on exergue, and T on left of field. Device, Peace standing to left; branch in right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

122. *Obv.*—[Imp.] C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament, and armour beneath.

Rev.—Providentia Aug. III on exergue. Device, female figure standing to left, touching with staff in her right hand a globe at her feet; in left hand straight sceptre.

123. *Obv.*—[Imp.] C. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to left; eagle-sceptre in right hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Rprobe Aeter. (*sic*). VXXT on exergue; a hybrid coin, in which the four first letters of the name "*Probus*" occupy the place of the three middle letters of the word "*Romae*." Device, a temple with portico of six columns, and image of Rome in the centre; partly defaced, either by a second stroke, or by the remains of a former obverse; some rays of a radiated crown appearing on the pediment.

124. *Obv.*—Virtus Probi Aug. Head radiated, not helmeted, to left; a smooth shield over left shoulder, and sceptre over right; with cuirass.

Rev.—Securit. Perpe. S on left of field; female figure, standing with legs crossed, to left; right hand lifted over head; left elbow resting on a short column.

125. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Tempor Felici. Figure to right, with caduceus in right hand, and torch? in left.

126. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. Head helmeted, to left; over left shoulder a shield, adorned with a device; over right shoulder, sceptre or sword; bust crossed by ? a belt.

Rev.—Tempor. Felici. I on exergue; device as in the last.

127. *Obv.*—Imp. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Victoria Germ. R ϶E A on exergue. Device, a trophy of a full suit of armour, set up, with two shields at the shoulders, and two projecting spears on each side of the head-piece; below, on each side, a captive crouching.

128. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Probus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. P X X T on exergue; soldier moving to right, with trophy over left shoulder, and transverse spear in right hand.

129. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to left, with eagle-sceptre in right hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. P X X T on exergue; soldier standing to left, holding up a "Victory" in right hand; left hand holds a straight spear, and rests on a shield.

130. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Probus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. On exergue, sometimes IIII, sometimes Q X X T; device as in the last.

131. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Probus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. IIII on exergue; soldier standing to left; a "Victory" in his right hand; in his left a straight sceptre.

132. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus P. Aug. Head radiated, to left; eagle-sceptre in right hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Virtus Augusti. A ✱ B on exergue; soldier standing to left; right hand resting on a shield below; in left hand a straight sceptre.

133. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Probus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Virtus Augusti. I I on exergue; soldier moving quickly to right, with trophy over left shoulder, and transverse spear in right hand.

CARUS.

1—6. (Nos. 30, 37, 61, 77, 88, 94 of Cohen.)

CARINUS.

1—13. (Nos. 42, 45, 51, 59, 60, 70, 71, 88, 90, 99, 108, 116, 119 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

14. *Obv.*—M. Aur. Carinus Nob. C. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Principi Juventut. V X X I on exergue; figure standing to left, pointing downwards with staff in right hand; in left hand, transverse sceptre.

MAGNIA URBICA.

1. (No. 10 of Cohen.)

NUMERIANUS.

1—9. (Nos. 25, 46, 50, 61, 62, 65, 67, 83, 84 of Cohen.)

DIOCLETIANUS.

1—26. (Nos. 133, 146, 149, 204, 22 Supp., 205, 208, 212, 224, 230, 235, 237, 243, 244, 248, 261, 268, 284, 298, 306, 327, 330, 333, 335, 339, 363 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

27. *Obv.*—Imp. Diocletianus P. Aug. Head radiated, to left; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Jovi Augg. A on exergue; figure standing to left, nude, holding up a "Victory" in right hand; sceptre in left, inclined.

28. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. Val. Diocletianus P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, sometimes with cuirass, sometimes with paludament.

Rev.—Jovi Conservat. On exergue, sometimes PXXIT, sometimes TXXIT, sometimes VIXXIT; Jupiter to left, nude; in right hand thunderbolt; in left hand, straight sceptre.

29. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Val. Diocletianus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Jovi Conservat. PXXIT on exergue; device as in the last.

30. *Obv.*—Imp. C. C. Val. Diocletianus P. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Jovi Tutatori Augg. P on exergue; figure standing to left, nude, holding up a "Victory" in right hand, with an eagle at his feet below; in left hand a straight sceptre.

31. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Diocletianus Aug. Head radiated, to right; cuirass below imperial robe; *a fine coin*, struck by Carausius?

Rev.—Pax Auggg. C on exergue, and SP on field; Peace standing to left, with branch in right hand, and straight sceptre in left; *fine*. (Pl. II. 16.)

32. *Obv.*—Imp. Diocletianus P. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Salus Augg. C on exergue; figure standing to right, feeding a serpent, which she holds in her left hand, from a patera in her right.

MAXIMIANUS.

1—22. (Nos. 139, 33 Supp., 255, 274, 275, 285, 288, 289, 293, 299, 306, 335, 339, 341, 343, 44 Supp., 387, 391, 413, 427, 442, 451 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

23. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Aur. Val. Maximianus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Herculi Conservat. QXXIT on exergue; Hercules, to right, with club in right hand; hydra beneath it; lion's skin over left shoulder.

24. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Maximianus P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Jovi Augg. P on exergue; figure, to left, holding up a "Victory" in right hand; an eagle at his feet below; in his left hand a straight sceptre.

25. *Obv.*—Imp. Maximianus P. Aug. Head radiated, to left; eagle-sceptre in right hand; bust richly robed.

Rev.—Votis X. Device, as in No. 451 of Cohen.

CONSTANTIUS (CHLORUS).

1. (No. 244 of Cohen.)

CARAUSIUS.

1—43. (Nos. 53, 67, 71, 72, 88, 90, 95, 96, 98, 111, 113, 115, 127, 133, 136, 142, 153, 154, 157, 164, 166, 8 Supp., 167, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 183, 184, 185, 187, 195, 196, 212, 222, 223, 224, 253, 263, 272 of Cohen.)

(Not described in Cohen.)

44. *Obv.*—I[MP. C]ARAUSIUS AUG. Head radiated, to right, with paludament; *small;* legend nearly effaced.

Rev.—O O O O O (*sic*). Device, two female figures, robed, standing face to face, with a knotted stem of a tree, or a short rostrate column, between them, on the top of which each figure lays one hand; the figure to right holds up a crown in her left hand, and that to the left holds behind her, in her right hand, a cornucopiæ. (Pl. II. 9.)

45. *Obv.*—IMP. C. CARAUSIUS P. AUG. Head as in the last.

Rev.—ABUNDANTIA AUG. C on exergue; SC on field; figure standing to left, and holding her lap with both hands, whence she pours cakes upon an altar, to left. (Pl. I. 7.)

46. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—APOLLINI CON. MC on exergue; device, a griffon, to left. (Pl. I. 8.)

47. *Obv.*—[IMP.] CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—[APO]LLI. CO. AUG. C on exergue; griffon, to left.

48. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—[CONCOR]DI. MI[LI.] SIII on exergue; figure to left, leaning forward, with standard in left hand, and another standard, inclined forward, but partly defaced, in right; *a large coin.*

49. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—CONRDIA NILITUM (*sic*). IV on exergue; device, two hands joined, set upright.

50. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head radiated, to right; barbarous; with paludament.

Rev.—Exp. Veni. Device, as in Cohen, No. 85.

51. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Felicit. Pupl. (*sic*). C on exergue. Device, a robed figure, standing to left, holding up in left hand a caduceus, inclined transversely; left elbow resting on a short column. (Pl. I. 9.)

52. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[Fi]d. Aug. Figure standing to left, between two standards.

53. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Fid]e[s] M. A[ug.] Figure as in the last.

54. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Fides Mil. Device as before. (Pl. I. 11.)

55. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Fi]d[es Mil]itum. Device as before.

56. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Fides] Militum. Device as before.

57. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. In. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Fidès Militum. SP on field; device as before. (Pl. I. 10.)

58. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[F]i[d.] Miltum (*sic*). Device as before.

59. *Obv.*—Victoria Carausi. Head radiated, to right, with spear over right shoulder; bust with cuirass.

Rev.—[For]tu[na Aug.] Edges and legend worn away. Device, figure standing to left, with bonnet and female robe; right hand resting on an upright staff; cornucopiæ in left hand. Like No. 95 of Cohen. (Pl. II. 11.)

60. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Fortuna Aug. III on exergue; device, as in No. 95 of Cohen.

61. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius [P. F.] Au. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[F]ortu[na Au]gu. Device as in the last.

62. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Fortuna Redux. Fortune standing to left, with a ship's helm, resting on a globe, in her right hand, and cornucopiæ in left. (Pl. I. 12.)

63. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Fortuna Redux. Fortune standing to left, with a helm ? in form of a trident, in right hand; cornucopiæ in left.

64. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Laetit. Aug. C on field; figure, with wreath in right hand, and ? ship's helm in left; much defaced.

65. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Laet[it. Aug.] C on field; figure, with staff in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

66. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Laetitia Aug. Sometimes C on exergue; figure standing to left, with wreath in right hand; left hand resting on staff.

67. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. In. I. A. Head as before.

Rev.—Laet[it]ia Aug. Device as in the last, with beaded wreath.

68. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Leg. II Aug. ML on exergue; device, a capricorn, to left. (Pl. I. 13.)

69. *Obv.*—[Imp. C]arausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Leg.] II Parth. ML on exergue; device, a centaur, to left.

70. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Lit. Au. Figure like "Peace," standing to left; branch in right hand, straight sceptre in left.

71. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius I. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Litit. Au. Figure standing to left; cornucopiæ in left hand; right hand leaning on staff.

72. *Obv.*—[Imp. Carausius] P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Li[tit.] Aug. Figure standing to left, with wreath in right hand, and transverse sceptre in left; defaced.

73. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Lititi. Au. Figure standing to left, with beaded wreath in right hand; left hand resting on a staff.

74. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius [P. F. Aug.] Head as before.

Rev.—[Li]titi. A[u.] Figure standing to left, with wreath in right hand, and straight sceptre in left; much defaced.

75. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Mars Ultor. MLXXI on exergue, and BE on field; figure standing, to right, helmeted, in military dress; transverse spear in right hand, and shield on left arm. (Pl. I. 14.)

76. *Obv.*—[Imp.] Caraus . . [P. A . .] Head radiated, to right, with paludament; defaced by a second stroke, which cuts off the legend and leaves P. A. on a higher line.

Rev.—Monet. Aug. SC on field; female figure, robed, standing to left, with balance in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

77. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—[Mone]ta Aug. Device as in the last.

78. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Moneta Aug. SC on field; device as before.

79. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Augg. (*sic*). Head as before.

Rev.—Monita Aug. (*sic*). Device as before. (Pl. II. 10.)

80. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before; *coin small, fine.*

Rev.—Monit[a Aug.] (*sic*). QL on exergue; device as before.

81. *Obv.*—[Imp.] Carausius P. F. Au. Head radiated, to right; neck defaced.

Rev.—Pax Aet. Figure standing to left, with standard in right hand; on the left side is lower part of another standard, of which the rest is defaced.

82. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Pax Au. Peace standing to left; branch in right hand; straight sceptre in left.

83. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Au. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Pax Aug. On exergue, sometimes C, sometimes ML, sometimes nothing; device as in the last.

84. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius II. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as before.

85. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. A. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. On exergue, sometimes ML, with FO on field; device as before.

86. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. I. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. SC on field; device as before.

87. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. I. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. SP on field; device as before.

88. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as before.

89. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as before.

90. *Obv.*—Imp. C. M. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Sometimes SC on field; device as before.

91. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as before, except that there is a streamer or small flag at top of sceptre.

92. *Obv.*—Imp. Ca[rausius P. F.] Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax [Aug.] + on left of field; Peace standing to left, with branch in right hand, and straight spear in left.

93. *Obv.*—Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before; barbarous.

Rev.—Pax Aug. ML on exergue, and FO on field; device as in the last.

94. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. I. Aug. Head as before; *fine.*

Rev.—Pax Aug. SP on field; Peace standing to left; branch in right hand, transverse sceptre in left.

95. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Device as in the last.

96. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pa Aug. (*sic*). Figure standing to left, with radiated crown, holding branch in right hand and cornucopiæ in left.

97. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Pax] Aug. Figure standing to left; branch ? in right hand, uplifted; left arm extended and resting on a beaded staff ? inclined inward to left foot.

98. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax [Aug.] Figure, to left, holding up branch in right hand; left hand leaning on staff.

99. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Figure, to left; right hand leaning on staff; cornucopiæ in left hand.

100. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Figure standing to left, with balance in right hand, and straight sceptre in left.

101. *Obv.*—[Imp. Car]ausius P. F. Aug. Head as before, barbarous, defaced.

Rev.—Pa[x] A[ug.] Figure standing to left, with wreath in right hand; left hand leaning on a staff.

102. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius [P. F. Aug.] Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. 1 S on field; figure standing to left, holding out crown in right hand, and carrying palm-branch in left.

103. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. A. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding with right hand a serpent rising from an altar; straight sceptre in left hand.

104. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius [P. F. Au.] Head as before, much defaced.

Rev.—[Pa]x Aug. Figure standing to left, with cornucopiæ in left hand, and with right hand feeding serpent by altar? (Pl. II. 2.)

105. *Obv.*—[Imp. Cara]usius P. I. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax [Aug.] Figure standing to left, holding with right hand a cake above an altar; in left hand cornucopiæ; and? a ship's helm below?

106. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. A. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax. Aug. Figure standing to left, between two standards.

107. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pax Aug. XXX on exergue; figure seated to left, holding out crown in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left. (Pl. II. 3.)

108. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausiu [. . .] Head as before; end of legend cut off by a second stroke.

Rev.—ɒvA xaꟻ (*sic*). Barbarous figure, standing with face to right; balance in right hand, cornucopiæ in left; lower part defaced.

109. *Obv.*—[Postum]ausius P. Aug. Head as before, struck on coin of Postumus, part of whose name remains on an inner line.

Rev.—s[vɒv]A xaꟻ (*sic*). Figure standing to left; balance in right hand; left hand resting on staff.

110. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Piaetas Aug. Figure standing to left, making offering on an altar.

111. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Pi[etas Aug.] Figure standing to left, dropping round cakes on an altar; straight sceptre in left hand; ill stamped, with broad margin on left, and part of legend and device cut off on right side.

112. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. [Aug.] Head as before.

Rev.—Prov[id.] Aug. C: on exergue. Device, figure standing to left, right hand resting on staff, sometimes with a globe below; cornucopiæ in left hand.

113. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Provid. Aug. C: on exergue; figure as in the last, with globe below staff.

114. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. I. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Provid. Aug. S C on field; device as in the last.

115. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Providen. Aug. C: on exergue; device as before.

116. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Providentt. Aug. M L X X I on exergue, and B E on field. Device, figure standing to left, holding up a globe in right hand; in left hand transverse sceptre. (Pl. II. 1.)

117. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Providenti. Aug. Figure standing to left, with staff touching globe in right hand, cornucopiæ in left.

118. *Obv.*—[Imp. C]arausius Au[g.]. Head as before.

Rev.—P[rovident]i. Aug. Device as in the last.

119. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Saeculi Felici. Figure standing to right, with transverse sceptre in right hand, and globe in left. (Pl. II. 4.)

120. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—S[aeculi F]elicit. Device as in the last.

121. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius [P. F. Au]g. Head as before.

Rev.—Saeculi F[elic]ita. Device as in the two last.

122. *Obv.*—[Imp.] C. M. Carausius [P. F. Aug.]. Head as before.

Rev.—Saeculi [Felicita]s. Figure standing to right, holding short spear in right hand; left hand outstretched, holding globe.

123. *Obv.*—[Imp.] C. C[arausius] Piu. (*sic*). Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; face more refined than usual; *coin much defaced.*

Rev.—[S]a[lus] Aug. Device as in No. 224 of Cohen; viz. figure, to left, feeding serpent, with cornucopiæ in left hand.

124. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding with right hand a serpent, whose tail is twined round an altar; in left hand a straight sceptre.

125. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, holding right hand above the flame of an altar; there seems to be no serpent, but part of the coin is defaced.

126. *Obv.*—[Imp. C]arausius Aug. Head as before; barbarous.

Rev.—Salu[s] Au[g.]. Device as in No. 222 of Cohen.

127. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, holding over an altar, not lighted, a beaded wreath; in left hand a straight spear.

128. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. I. C. . . . (*sic*). Head as before.

Rev.—Salut. Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding with right hand a serpent which rises from an altar; in left hand a straight spear.

129. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Salus Aug. Figure standing to left, feeding serpent by altar from a patera in her right hand; in left hand a straight spear.

130. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Au. Head laureated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Securit. Perp. IIIXXI on exergue; figure to left, with legs crossed, leaning on a short column; her right hand held above her head. (Pl. II. 5.)

131. *Obv.*—[Imp. Ca]r usius P. F. Au[g.]. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—[Tempor.] Felic. Figure standing to left, with caduceus in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left; left side of coin defaced.

132. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. AUG. Head as in the last; *small, fine.*

Rev.—VICT. AG. (*sic*). Device nearly effaced, seems to be figure standing to right, with right hand behind, leaning on a staff. (Pl. II. 6.)

133. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—VICTORI. AU. A winged Victory to right; crown in right hand; palm-branch over left shoulder.

134. *Obv.*—[IMP. C]ARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—V[ICTORI]A AUG. Device nearly effaced; seems to be like the last.

135. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. A. Head as before.

Rev.—VICT[ORI]A AUG. C on exergue. Device, Victory moving to right, holding up crown in right hand; in her left hand a palm-branch? but defaced.

136. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—VICT[ORI]A AUG. Victory standing to right; her feet on a globe, on each side of which is a captive crouching; in her right hand a crown; over left shoulder a palm-branch.

137. *Obv.*—IMP. C. CARAUSIUS P. AUG. Head as before; *fine.*

Rev.—VICTORIA GERMA. C on exergue, and S C on field. Device, a trophy set up, consisting of a full suit of armour, with a shield on each side at the shoulders, and four sceptre-ends projecting above; below, on each side, a captive crouching. (Pl. II. 7.)

138. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—VIN . . . . . Figure like "Peace" standing to left, with branch in right hand, and straight sceptre in left; upper part and right side cut off.

139. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. Device as in No. 263 of Cohen.

140. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Virt[u] Aug. C on exergue; soldier nude, to right, touching shield with left hand, and with right hand holding the point of a straight spear.

141. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. I. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—Virtus Aug. Device as in No. 267 of Cohen.

142. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Virtus Ju. Aug. Soldier standing to right, in military dress; right hand touching a shield below; in left hand a straight spear. (Pl. II. 8.)

143. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—Vo. P . . . . . C on exergue; figure like "Salus" to left, feeding serpent by altar, with cornucopiæ in left hand? defaced and cut off on right side.

144. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—AVT. XIV. A. C. (*sic*). Figure of "Peace" to left, holding up branch in right hand, straight spear in left.

145. *Obv.*—. . . Carausius P. F. A. . Head as before; barbarous; lower part defaced.

Rev.—A . . . . . +II+ on exergue and ☰ on left of field; figure to left, defaced in upper part, holding balance? in right hand, and in left both straight sceptre and cornucopiæ.

146. *Obv.*—. . . . . usius P. F. Aug. Head as before; neck defaced.

Rev.—. . li . . . Au. Figure to left, holding right hand above an altar; in left hand a long staff.

147. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius Au. Head as before.

Rev.—[Legend effaced.] Barbarous and defaced; device, figure facing the spectator, between two long and thin standards, with ? a third standard to right.

148. *Obv.*—Imp. . . . . g. Head of Carausius, radiated, to right.

Rev.—OV SP. . . VG. Device, a tall robed female figure, standing to left, and holding in her right hand the upper part of a long palm-branch, which rests on the ground; in her left hand cornucopiæ; right side of the coin cut off, and lower part defaced. (Pl. II. 12.)

149. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—[Legend effaced.] X on right of field; right side perfect, without any letter; on left side traces of two letters; device, figure standing to left, wreath in right hand, cornucopiæ in left.

150. *Obv.*—Imp. Carausius P. Au. Head as before.

Rev.—IIX Aug. Figure standing with face to spectator, right hand holds branch, and also drops cakes on an altar; left hand holds straight sceptre; lower part, on right side, defaced.

151. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Carausius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—PII . . IIX. + III on exergue, and ES on field. Device, figure standing to left, holding in right hand a bough with five berries; straight sceptre in left.

152. *Obv.*—Im . . . . . usius P. F. Aug. Head as before.

Rev.—. VP. Aug. S on left side of exergue. "Peace" to left, with branch in right hand; transverse sceptre in left.

153. *Obv.*—. . . . . SIUS P. F. Head as before.

Rev.—. . . AVSG. (*sic*). Figure to left, holding up right hand with ? branch; cornucopiæ in left hand; left side of coin cut off.

154. *Obv.*—. . . . . SIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before; much defaced.

Rev.—[Effaced.] Figure to left, holding cornucopiæ in left hand, and leaning, with right, either on an altar or on a staff.

155. *Obv.*—. . . . ARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before,

Rev.—R . . . F . . . AUG. Figure standing to left, with right hand extended over an inclined altar ? in left hand, straight sceptre; defaced on left side and upper part.

156. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—. AI AUG. (*sic*). Figure standing to left, with right hand feeding a serpent; in left hand holding an object like a thunderbolt; *barbarous.*

157. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. Head as before.

Rev.—I AO (*sic*). Figure standing to left, with right hand feeding a short upright snake, parallel to an altar; in left hand, straight sceptre; *coin defaced.*

158. *Obv.*—. . . . . AUG. Head of Carausius, as before.

Rev.—SA . . . A . . Exergue, with a row of six dots; figure like "Peace" standing to left; branch in right hand; straight sceptre in left.

159. *Obv.*—. . . . ARAUSIUS A . . Head as before; neck defaced.

Rev.—VIC . . . . . Figure standing to left; right hand extended over altar; cornucopiæ in left; right side defaced.

160. *Obv.*—Imp. . . rausius P. A. Head as before.

Rev.— ⊲I . I . . A. (*sic*). Robed figure, without wings, standing to left, with short palm-branch in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left.

(Pl. II. 13 is an obverse of "Pax Aug." showing the heads both of Victorinus and of Carausius.)

ALLECTUS.

1—10. (Nos. 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 33, 36, 62, 63, 64 of Cohen.)

11. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Allectus P. F. I. Aug. Head radiated, to right, with paludament.

Rev.—Laetit. Aug. C on exergue, and SP on field; figure standing to left; wreath in right hand; left hand resting on ship's helm, or anchor. (Pl. II. 15.)

12. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Allectus Aug. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass.

Rev.—Laetitia Aug. QC on exergue; device, an eight-oared galley.

13. *Obv.*—Imp. C. Allectus P. F. I. Aug. Head as in the last.

Rev.—Laetitia Aug. QC on exergue; device, as in No. 24 of Cohen. (Pl. II. 14.)

UNKNOWN.

1. *Obv.*—No decipherable legend, but traces of "*Imp.*" at the beginning, and what may be "*tus Aug.*" at the end. Head radiated, to right, with cuirass; unlike that on any other coin in the hoard.

Rev.—No decipherable legend; one or two letters indistinctly traceable. Device traceable, though in faint lines; a galley, with poop to right, and what seem to be two palm-branches at the prow; deck high above the oars, of which there are eleven or twelve, and as many heads of rowers

seen above. Over the rowers' heads, ⊙. A small coin, with the edges much defaced and the stamp on the reverse side very slightly impressed.

2. *Obv.*—No decipherable legend; indistinct traces of the earlier letters; head to right, filleted, large in proportion to the size of the coin, which is small; unlike that on any other coin in the hoard, but like that of *Valens*, with the reverse "*Securitas*," in the British Museum. (It is not certain that this coin formed part of the hoard when found.)

Rev.—Legend wholly effaced; figure like a winged Victory, moving to left, and holding up crown in right hand (as in the "*Securitas*" of *Valens*; A on left of field.

(The coin on both sides is much rubbed, though the outlines of the head and of the reverse figure are easily made out.)

SELBORNE.

March 10, 1877.

VII.

ON THE DATES OF ISSUE OF SOME UNDATED MODERN TRADESMEN'S TOKENS IN THE CABINET OF THE REV. B. W. ADAMS, D.D., M.R.I.A., ETC.

SANTRY RECTORY, CO. DUBLIN, IRELAND,
June 22nd, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR,

Considering that the information in the accompanying paper might interest some readers of the Numismatic Chronicle, in case you consider it worthy of a place in your valuable publication, I send it to you.

The information has nearly in every instance been obtained direct from the issuers or their family.

Believe me to remain,
Yours faithfully,
BEN. WM. ADAMS.

To JOHN EVANS, ESQ., F.R.S., ETC.

BELFAST.

1. *Obv.*—B. HUGHES, ONE FARTHING, BELFAST.
Rev.—RAILWAY BAKERY (sheaf of wheat).
Date.—1847 or 1848.

2. *Obv.*—C. & P. M^cGLADE, GROCERS, WINE & SPIRIT DEALERS, BELFAST.

Rev.—PAYABLE AT 34, EDWARD ST., & 71, SMITHFIELD, ONE FARTHING.

Date.—1848.

3. *Obv.*—M^cKENZIE BROS., MAY ST., BELFAST.

Rev.—BRASS FOUNDERS, PATENT AXLE MAKERS & GAS FITTERS.

Date.—1852.

BIRMINGHAM.

4. *Obv.*—DONALD & CO., STOCKINGS MANUFACTURERS WHOLESALE & RETAIL. HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT

Rev.—NO. 29, HULL STREET, BIRMINGHAM (hive and bees).

Date.—1792.

CARRICKFERGUS.

5. *Obv.*—CUNNINGHAM & CO., TEA MERCHANTS, ISLANDMAGEE AND CARRICKFERGUS.

Rev.—CUNNINGHAM & CO., WINE AND SPIRIT MERCHANTS.

Date.—1852.

CLOYNE.

6. *Obv.*—R. SWANTON, WOOLEN DRAPER & HATTER, CLOYNE.

Rev.—R. SWANTON, WOOLEN DRAPER & HATTER, CLOYNE.

Date.—1845.

CORK.

7. *Obv.*—E. CLEBURNE, CLOTHIER, NO. 9, GRT. GEORGE ST., CORK.

Rev.—E. CLEBURNE, WOOLEN DRAPER, NO. 9, GRT. GEORGE ST., CORK.

Date.—1846.

COVE.

8. *Obv.*—SWANTON & CO., DRAPERS, COVE.

Rev.—(Bust of the Queen.)

Date.—1847.

DALKEY.

9. *Obv.*—HARRISON & CO., KINGSTOWN & DALKEY, GENERAL GROCERS.

Rev.—HARRISON & CO.'S TEA IS THE BEST (rose, thistle, and shamrock).

Date.—1854.

DUBLIN.

10. *Obv.*—MAXL. HUTTON, NO. 101 (A crown).

Rev.—JAMES STREET (six griffins' heads, four crosses, and a fleur-de-lis).

Date.—Between 1787 and 1790.

11. *Obv.*—TODD, BURNS & CO., DUBLIN (Queen's bust).

Rev.—GENERAL FURNISHERS, DRAPERS, TAILORS, &c., 47, MARY ST., DUBLIN.

Date.—1832.

12. *Obv.*—THOMAS BRYAN, WINE & SPIRIT DEALER, 23, UPR. BAGGOT STREET, DUBLIN.

Rev.—VICTORIA DEI GRATIA (Queen's bust).

Date.—Between 1852 and 1864.

13. *Obv.*—BYRNE & CO., 6 & 7, GRANBY ROW, DUBLIN (Queen's bust).

Rev.—BYRNE & CO., TEA & WINE MERCHANTS, 6 & 7, GRANBY ROW, DUBLIN.

Date.—Between 1849 and 1865.

14. *Obv.*—CANNOCK, WHITE & CO., DUBLIN & CORK (Queen's bust).

Rev.—CANNOCK, WHITE & CO., DRAPERS, 14, HENRY ST., DUBLIN, NR. THE POST OFFICE.

Date.—1847.

15. *Obv.*—CANNOCK, WHITE & CO., DUBLIN (three shamrocks).

Rev.—VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN (Queen's bust).

Date.—1847.

16. *Obv.*—THE PORTER BARM BAKERY, NO. 49, SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN.

Rev.—CORK BAKERY, NO. 49, SOUTH KING STREET, DUBLIN.

Date.—1847.

17. *Obv.*—GENERAL POST OFFICE TAVERN, J. K., NO. 9, ELEPHANT LANE, OFF SACKVILLE ST., DUBLIN.

Rev.—VICTORIA REGINA (Queen's bust).

Date.—Between 1859 and 1870.

18. *Obv.*—O'GRADY, CLINTON & CO., 19 & 20, HENRY ST., DUBLIN, DRAPERS.

Rev.—MAY IRELAND FLOURISH (harp and shamrock).

Date.—1852.

19. *Obv.*—SCOTT, BELL & CO., SUCCESSORS TO HARVIES & CO., WELLINGTON QUAY, DUBLIN.

Rev.—SILK MERCERS, DRAPERS, & HOSIERS (rose, thistle, and shamrock).

Date.—1852.

20. *Obv.*—TALTY, MURPHY & CO., 9 & 10, HENRY ST., DUBLIN (Queen's bust).

Rev.—TRIMINGS, HABERDASHERY, BERLIN WOOLS, HOSIERY, SHIRTS, GLOVES, &C.

Date.—1849.

21. *Obv.*—WEBB & CO., LINEN & WOOLEN DRAPERS, 10, 11, & 12, CORN MARKET, DUBLIN.

Rev.—VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN (Queen's bust).

Date.—1852.

22. *Obv.*—PRINCE ALFRED HOTEL, 28, EDEN QUAY, R. & C.

Rev.—(Plain.)

Date.—Between 1866 and 1868.

23. *Obv.*—THE TEA ESTABLISHMENT, ANDREWS & CO., DUBLIN (large building).

Rev.—ANDREWS'S FAMOUS 4/- TEA.

Date.—1834.

24. *Obv.*—GEALE & MACBRIDE, 17, WESTMORELAND STREET, DUBLIN.

Rev.—FASHIONABLE FURNISHING IRONMONGERS (two roses).

Date.—Between 1804 and 1812.

ISLANDMAGEE.

25. See CARRICKFERGUS.

KENDAL.

26. *Obv.*—KENDAL, R. & D. (crest and lion).

Rev.—THE GUARD & GLORY OF BRITAIN (man-of-war ship).

Date.—1794.

KINGSTOWN.

27. *Obv.*—HARRISON & CO., SUCCESSORS TO J. BEWLEY, LOW$^{R.}$ GEORGE'S STREET, KINGSTOWN.

Rev.—HARRISON & CO.'S TEA IS THE BEST (rose, thistle, and shamrock).

Date.—1849.

28. See DALKEY.

LIVERPOOL.

29. *Obv.*—B. HYAM, 63, LORD ST., LIVERPOOL (Bust).

Rev.—MANUFACTURING CLOTHIERS, PENNY TOKEN (coat, vest, and trousers).

Date.—1840.

30. *Obv.*—Same as No. 29.

Rev.—MANUFACTURING CLOTHIERS, HALFPENNY TOKEN (coat, vest, and trousers).

Date.—1840.

OLDHAM.

31. *Obv.*—R. COOPER, TEA & COFFEE MERCHANT, OLDHAM.

Rev.—GENUINE TEA WAREHOUSE (a tea-canister).

Date.—1849.

Queenstown.

32. *Obv.*—SWANTON & CO., DRAPERS, QUEENSTOWN.
Rev.—(Bust of the Queen.)
Date.—1849.

Skibbereen.

33. *Obv.*—GEORGE JAMES LEVIS, GENERAL COMMISSION MERCHANT, SKIBBEREEN.
Rev.—ONE FARTHING TOKEN.
Date.—1848 or 1849.

34. *Obv.*—P. VICKERY, HARDWARE HOUSE, SKIBBEREEN (two keys in saltire).
Rev.—TRIMING AND FANCY WAREHOUSE.
Date.—1845.

35. *Obv.*—SAMUEL VICKERY, BAKER, SKIBBEREEN.
Rev.—FULL WEIGHT (pair of scales, with a loaf in one and weights in the other).
Date.—1853.

Tralee.

36. *Obv.*—J. LUMSDEN & CO., HATTERS, TRALEE.
Rev.—DRAPERS AND SILKMERCERS, 33, DENNY STREET.
Date.—1838.

MISCELLANEA.

TREASURE-TROVE.—Two finds of English gold and silver coins have recently passed through my hands, having been forwarded to the Museum by H.M. Treasury.

1. *Houghton Find.*—The first hoard was discovered at Houghton, near St. Ives, on the property of Mr. Bateman Brown. Mr. J. D. Robertson, dating from St. Mary's Passage, Cambridge, gives the following account of the discovery: "It appears that a labouring man named Holmes, living at Houghton, near St. Ives, was digging a hole for an ash-pit in his garden. About fifteen inches below the surface, he found a common earthenware jar, the upper part of which was wanting, in which were contained nearly three hundred coins of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Mary. Mr. Bateman Brown managed to recover all or nearly all of these coins, and communicated the fact of their discovery to the Treasury, to whom he has now handed them over."

The actual number of the coins which were sent from the Treasury was 313—25 gold and 288 silver. A large number of these, chiefly shillings and groats (probably) of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., were utterly defaced.

The following is the description of the remainder:—

Edward IV.	angel	mm. cinquefoil	1	
,,	groat		1	
,,	pennies		5	
Henry VII.	angel	,, pheon	1	
,,	angel	,, cross crosslett	1	
Henry VIII.	half-sovereign	,, pheon	1	
,,	half-sovereign	,, circle enclosing point	1	
,,	quarter-sovereign	,, cinquefoil	1	(with Ո K)
,,	crowns	,, cinquefoil	4	(HENRIC VIII. RVT, &c.)
,,	angels	,, portcullis	2	
,,	angels	,, clouds and rays	1	
,,	groats (side face, 2nd c.)	,, lis	5	
,,	groats ,,	,, cinquefoil	5	

Henry VIII.	groats (side face, 2nd c.)	mm. pheon	5	
,,	groats ,,	,, uncertain	1	
,,	groats (front face)	,, lis	12	
,,	groats ,,	,, lis	1	(with H)
,,	groats ,,	,, uncertain	11	
,,	half-groat ("Cantor" 1st c.)	,, cross crosslett	1	(with w A beside shield)
,,		,, mullet	2	
,,		,, uncertain	1	(T W)
,,		,, uncertain	1	(R I? beside shield)
Edward VI.	sovereign		1	
,,		,, uncertain	1	
,,		,, tun	2	
,,		,, pheon?	1	(countermarked with portcullis)
,,	sixpence (front face)	,, tun?	1	
,,	groat	,, pheon	1	
Mary	groats		34	
,,	groats (o 8 beside pomegranates)		1	
Philip and Mary	groats		12	

ELIZABETH.

Mint mark.	Shillings.	4d.	2d.	1d.	½d.	Date.	6d.	3d.	⅔d.	¼d.
Martlet		5	2	12						
Cross crosslett		14		14	2					
Dis		1								
Pheon			2			1561	4	1	9	
						1562		1		
						1564	2	1		
Rose						1565				
Portcullis				2		1566	4	1		
Lion			1			1566		1		
Crown			2	4		1567	2	1		
Crown						1568				
Crown						1569	2	5		
Castle			1							
Ermine						1572	1	2		
Acorn						1573		1	1	1
Cinquefoil						1575	1	6	1	
Cinquefoil (?)						1577		1		
Cross			2			1578		1		
Cross						1579		1		
Uncertain				1		uncertain		2		

2. *Flawborough Find.*—The second hoard comes from Flawborough, Notts. No particulars concerning the circumstances of the find have come into my hands. It will be seen that it just overlaps the Houghton treasure, carrying on the series into the time of the Civil War. The whole number of coins was 327, all silver.

ELIZABETH.

Mint mark.	Shillings.	4d.	2d.	1d.	½d.	Date.	6d.	3d.	3/2d.	¼d.
Martlet	8									
Cross crosslett	4									
Pheon						1561	8			
Pheon						1562	3			
Pheon						1564		1		
Pheon						1565	1			
Pheon							4			
Rose						1565	2			
Portcullis						1566	7			
Crown						1567	1			
Uncertain						1567	2			
Crown						1568	8			
Crown						1569	7			
Castle (?)						1570	2			
Castle						1571	1			
Ermine						1572	4	1		
Acorn						1573	2			
Acorn						1574	1			
Cinquefoil						1573	1			
Cinquefoil						1574	2			
Cinquefoil						1575	2			
Cinquefoil						1576	1			
Cinquefoil						1577	1			
Cross						1578	6			
Cross						1579	2			
Cross						1580	5			
(Latin) cross						1581	4			
Sword						1582	1			
Bell	1					1583	1			
A	2					1583	1			
A						1584	1			
A						?	1			
Scallop	3					1585	5			
Scallop?						1586	1			
Crescent						1589	1			
Hand						1590	2			
Tun	1					1592	2			
Ton						1593	3			
Woolpack						1594	1			
Uncertain						1594	1			
Woo pack						1595	1			
1	1									
2	1					1602	1			
Uncertain	2					?	7			

JAMES I.

Mint mark.	Shillings.	Date.	Sixpences.	
Thistle	3	1603	1	"Exurgat"
Lis	7	1604	1	Do.
Lis	1	1605	1	"Quæ Deus"
Rose	2	1605	2	Do.
Rose		1606	1	Do.
Scallop	2			Do.
Crown	2			Do.
Trefoil	1	1613	1	Do.
Tun		1615	1	Do.

CHARLES I.

Mint mark.	Half-crowns.	Shillings.	Date.	Sixpences.
Anchor (sq. sh.)		7	1628	
Harp (ov. sh. C R)		3	1632	
Portcullis (ov. sh.)		6	1633	
Bell (ov. sh.)		4	1634	2
Crown (ov. sh.)		7	1635	3 (2 var.)
Tun	2	7	1636	3
Tun (sq. sh.)		3	1638	1
Triangle (sq. sh.)		18	1639	2
Star		15	1640	1
Triangle in circle (sq. sh.)	5	44	1641	2
P in circle		17	1643	
Uncertain		13		

We may fairly imagine that this treasure was buried just at the very hottest period of the Civil War, perhaps just before Marston Moor. C. F. K.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle :—

SIR,—My remarks on the Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte have only come to hand a short time ago. On reading the same, I found that Mr. Head had added a foot-note to the third page, in which he evidently calls in question the correctness of my argument, that the æra on the autonomous and imperial coins is not the same, referring the reader to the coins of Byzantium bearing the names of magistrates, which occur both on the autonomous and imperial coins of the same city. Mionnet, S. ii. p. 242, No. 225, and p. 267, No. 387.

Mr. Head's remarks in nowise weaken or destroy my argument, unless he can prove that the name of the magistrate on the autonomous coins of Byzantium is identically the name of the same person found on the imperial coins of the same city; and until these proofs are forthcoming, I maintain my assertion that the foot-note of Mr. Head does not in the slightest degree invalidate the correctness of my opinion.

Moreover, Mr. Head's quotations are apt to mislead the reader. The names of the magistrates to which he alludes evidently refer to two different individuals, living at different periods of time. On the autonomous coins it is simply stated that it was issued ΕΠ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟC (Mion. S. ii. 242, No. 225), whereas on the imperial coins it is said to be ΕΠΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟC (Mion. S. ii. p. 267, No. 387). Now the latter name, unquestionably, is not the same person with the one on the former coin. Instead of weakening my argument, the foot-note of Mr. Head rather confirms it.

Would you kindly insert these observations on the note of Mr. Head for my own justification in your next issue of the Numismatic Chronicle, and oblige, Sir,

Yours very truly,

Damascus, March 15, 1877. H. C. REICHARDT.

Since Mr. Reichardt challenges me to prove that the magistrate Phronton on autonomous coins of Byzantium is the same individual as M. Aur. Phronton on imperial coins of the same city, perhaps he will examine the following list, when I think he will be obliged to confess that the probability is strongly in favour of the identity, not only of Phronton but of the other magistrates also, on the autonomous coins of Byzantium given below, with those on the imperial coins of the same city. I am quite ready to admit that the recurrence of a single name proves nothing, but when we find as many as four names identical both on autonomous and imperial coins, and when moreover the style and fabric of the two classes of coins is also identical, I think we are fully justified in considering the autonomous coins in question as contemporary with the imperial.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

AUTONOMOUS.

ЄΠΙ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟϹ. ΤΟ. Β. (Brit. Mus.)

ЄΠΙ. ΜΑΡΚΟΥ. ΤΟ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. (Mion., S. ii. p. 240.)

ЄΠ. ΑΙ. ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΥ. ΗΡ. (Brit. Mus.)

ЄΠ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΩϹ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. (Mion., S. ii. p. 242.)

IMPERIAL.

ЄΠΙ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟϹ. ΤΟ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Sabina. (Mion., S. ii. p. 248.)

ЄΠΙ. ΜΑΡΚΟΥ. ΤΟ. Β. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Faustina Jun. (Ib. p. 250.)

ЄΠΙ. ΑΙ. ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΥ. ΗΡ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Commodus to Macrinus. (Mion., S. ii. pp. 253—263.)

ЄΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟϹ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Macrinus to Mamæa. (Mion., S. ii. pp. 263—270.)

ROMAN COINS FOUND AT KNAPWELL, NEAR CAMBRIDGE.—In April last, in deepening a ditch near the intersection of the drift-way northwards to Knapwell with the road from Cambridge to St. Neot's, Hunts, twenty-four Roman coins were found, with one exception of large brass, but nearly all in poor condition. They were exhibited and described at the meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on May 14, 1877, and consisted of the following :—

Domitian	3	Æ 1
Trajan	5	Æ 1
Hadrian	3	Æ 1
Antoninus Pius	5	Æ 1
℞ PAX AVG. (Cohen, No. 702.)		
℞ CONSECRATIO. (Cohen, No. 517.)		
Marcus Aurelius	1	Æ 1
℞ VIC. GER. (Cohen, No. 525.)		
Faustina II.	1	Æ 1
,, ,, ...	1	Æ 2
℞ FECVNDITAS. (Cohen, 596.)		
Sept. Severus	1	Æ 1
(Cohen, No. 556.)		
Uncertain	4	Æ 1
	24	

CORP. CHR. COLL. S. S. LEWIS.

GOLD SIEGE-PIECE OF CHARLES II.—The following is a description of a gold siege-piece of Charles II., which has not, I believe, hitherto been published :—

Obv.—Within an inner circle Pontefract Castle; on the highest tower a flag-staff and streamer, on either side of which are the letters P C. On the left of the castle OBS; while from the right side there projects some object, which may, or may not, be a cannon. Between the outer beaded circle and the inner one is the legend CAROLVS : SECVNDVS : 1648.

Rev.—Within a circular beaded border the letters C R, with a small dot between them, under a large crown, and the motto DVM : SPIRO : SPERO.

It seems likely that it was struck from the die of the Pontefract Shilling of the same type (Ruding, xxix. 12). The octangular piece of gold plate on which it is impressed is larger than the shilling, measuring about $1\frac{6}{16}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., and as it weighs 138·7 grs., it was doubtless intended for a 20-shilling piece.

The coin is in the possession of Gery Milner-Gibson, Esq., having been presented to his [illegible] Sir Thomas Cullum, Bart., by Dr. F. H. Turner [illegible], F.R.S., F.S.A. It appears to be struck and not cast, and there seems little reason to doubt its being genuine.

J. D. ROBERTSON.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 24.

VIII.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE RECENT FIND OF STATERS OF CYZICUS AND LAMPSACUS.

Last year I gave an account in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S. vol. xvi. pp. 277—298) of a hoard of electrum staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, which I then estimated as consisting of about 56 specimens. That this estimate was too low I have been long aware, but until lately I was not aware how large a number of coins from this find were still held in reserve. An instalment of 30 pieces has just arrived in England, and who shall say how many more may still be in the background, if after a space of two years as many as 30 make their appearance in the market?

Before I proceed to describe the new coins, I take the present opportunity to publish a letter which I received some time ago from M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, as it contains much valuable criticism upon my last article, and more especially because there are one or two points upon which I should like to make a few remarks.

Amsterdam, 2 *février* 1877.

Cher Monsieur,—Je viens vous remercier de l'intéressant article sur les statères de Cyzique et de Lampsaque, que vous avez eu l'obligeance de m'envoyer. Vous avez traité la matière si à fond et avez tellement tenu compte des autres

monnaies de la même époque, qu'il ne reste presque plus rien à dire sur ce sujet, et que surtout il n'est guère possible de n'être pas complètement de votre avis. Cependant en lisant votre mémoire, j'ai fait quelques notes, que je prends la liberté de vous communiquer. Peut-être y trouverez-vous quelque chose qui vous intéresse.

P. 278, n. 2. L'Apollon, Pl. VIII. n. 4 est le pendant exact de l'Artémis qui perce de sa flèche une des filles de Niobé sur le bronze d'Erchomenos d'Arcadie, Num. Chron., N.S. xiii., Pl. V. n. 1, à en juger d'après un exemplaire que j'ai sous les yeux. Ces deux figures ont donc probablement été copiées d'après les statues d'un fronton d'un temple qui avait pour groupe central Niobé et ses enfants. Les deux figures agenouillées d'Apollon et d'Artémis auront occupé les deux bouts.

P. 281, n. 11. Ce géant à queue de serpent, qui s'appuie sur un olivier, n'est autre que Cécrops. Cela se voit par la terre-cuite, figurée, Archæologische Zeitung, 1872, Pl. LXIII., p. 51 sq., où il est représenté de la même manière.

P. 284, n. 17. Sur un autre exemplaire de ce statère publié par M. de Koehne ("Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'Archéologie," t. vi. 1852, Pl. XXI. 5, p. 376) on remarque un *astre* sur le bouclier. M. de Koehne a reconnu Thétis portant le bouclier forgé par Vulcain et une couronne pour le vainqueur d'Hector. Un autre statère, n. 6 de la même planche, reproduit le type bien connu de Tarente, un adolescent qui couronne son cheval.

D'après cela, il paraît que les types des statères de Cyzique ne se laissent pas tous expliquer par les traditions qui avaient cours à Cyzique même. On copiait souvent les types d'autres villes avec lesquelles Cyzique se trouvait en relation commerciale et surtout politique. Cyzique a payé pendant longues années le tribut à Athènes, et l'athénien Cécrops, comme l'omphalos de Delphi, orné des deux aigles décrits par Strabon, ix. 3, 6, me semble faire allusion à quelque événement, qui aura eu lieu peu avant l'émission de ces statères. Cela est confirmé par le type spécial de Samos (Pl. VIII. 26), et Samos était une des seules villes libres de la confédération athénienne, et par l'Hercule thébain étouffant les serpents, type de la symmachie en 394.

P. 278, n. 3, Pl. VIII. 5. La composition est parfaitement carrée. Elle semble être prise d'une des métopes de quelque temple.

P. 281, n. 10, Pl. VIII. 13. Gravée dans R. Rochette, Hercule Assyrien, Pl. III. 6, p. 146.

P. 280, n. 7, Pl. VIII. 10. La même tête *laurée* d'Ammon,

mais tournée à gauche sur le statère publie par de Koehne, *l. c.*, Pl. XXI. 3.

Il me semble fort improbable qu'on aurait changé de type à Cyzique plus d'une fois par année, car les magistrats dans les républiques grecques étaient, en règle, annuels. Mais, s'il en est ainsi, le nombre de types que nous connaissons peut servir à fixer approximativement le nombre d'années qu'a duré l'émission des statères à Cyzique. Or M. Brandis énumère 95 ? différents types, qu'il a trouvés sur les statères et sur les hectés.

Il faut y ajouter 6 ou 7 pièces qu'il a omises, deux ou plus de M. Imhoof, une de ma collection, et les 9 ou 10 que vous venez de publier. Cela fait en tout au moins 115 différents types, qui représentent au moins 145 années, car il y a certainement encore des variétés qui me sont inconnues ou qui n'ont pas encore été retrouvées. Cela nous mène, en commençant en 478 comme vous le faites, jusqu'en 333, quand Démosthène mentionne les statères.

Outre les exemplaires que vous énumérez, p. 286, MM. Rollin et Feuardent ont eu un exemplaire du n. 18 (16·03 gr.), un second ex. du n. 27, qui est entré dans ma collection (15·18 gr.), et un ex. de la darique (8·35 gr.).

Le statère de Lampsaque de la collection de Luynes de 15·15 gr. diffère de ceux que vous venez de publier; j'en connais d'autres exemplaires, l'un de 15·19 gr. de ma collection, l'autre tout [illegible] 11·37 gr. dans la collection Dupré (catal., n. 263). Ces pièces sont plus anciennes, moins pâles, et contiennent par conséquence plus d'or, la couronne de vigne n'est pas apparente, on ne voit que des globules ? qui en indiquent les traces. Il n'y a pas de lettre sous le Pégase. Elles forment la transition entre celles que vous avez publiées, Num. Chron., N.S. xv., Pl. VII. 8 (autre ex. chez M. Imhoof de 13·87 gr. qui montre clairement la couronne de vigne et la bride du Pégase) et les statères récemment découverts.

Il n'y a qu'une question sur laquelle je suis d'un avis tout à fait opposé au vôtre, car je ne crois pas que les statères de Cyzique et de Lampsaque de la récente trouvaille aient jamais été acceptés à Athènes pour 37 ou 35 drachmes attiques. Comme M. A. Kirchhoff a observé, "Corp. Inscr. Attic.," p. 160, la drachme d'or valait en 434 à Athènes 14 drachmes d'argent, ce qui donne pour les dariques de la trouvaille la valeur de 28 drachmes mentionnée par Démosthène comme la valeur des cyzicènes. Or d'après l'analyse donnée par M. Brandis, p. 216, et en jugeant d'après la couleur très-pâle des statères, il est probable que les cyzicènes et les lampsacènes de ce temps ne contenaient que 8 grammes environ d'or et 7 à

8 grammes d'argent, qui équivalaient a 0·5 gr. d'or, ce qui fait ensemble deux drachmes attiques d'or: Il en résulterait que toutes les pièces du trésor, dariques, cyzicènes, et lampsacènes avaient cours à Athènes pour la valeur d'un didrachme attique d'or environ, et que c'est là la raison pourquoi les inscriptions attiques les mentionnent toutes sous le nom de statères d'or. On ne s'inquiétait ni du poids, ni du module de ces monnaies étrangères, on ne les acceptait que pour la valeur intrinsèque. Toutefois je ne voudrais pas nier que les cyzicènes n'ont pas pu valoir parfois un peu plus de 28 drachmes, 30 par exemple, mais 37 et 35 me semble trop pour Athènes.

Par contre, à Cyzique même et dans les villes du sud de la Russie ces statères auront eu une plus grande valeur et c'est ce qui aura engagé Cyzique à en continuer l'émission si longtemps. Par contre Lampsaque s'apercevant qu'on n'acceptait ses statères qu'en raison de l'or qu'ils contenaient, et sans peut-être même tenir compte de l'alliage, aura trouvé plus profitable de frapper des statères de la même valeur en or pur et c'est ce qui explique, me semble-t-il, d'une manière toute naturelle, la transition à Lampsaque des statères d'or pâle à ceux en or purifié qui eut lieu quand la confédération athénienne eut pris fin et que Lampsaque renouvela sous Pharnabaze l'alliance avec les Perses. Dès lors on trouve parfois les mêmes types sur les statères de Lampsaque de 8·4 gr. et sur ceux de Cyzique de 16 gr., ce qui plaide encore en faveur de l'opinion que la valeur de ces deux espèces de monnaies était identique.

La [illegible] dariques dans le dépôt me confirme dans l'opini[illegible] d'où sont sortis la plupart des dariques était à Sardes, comme le croyait M. Ch. Lenormant et non en Perse, comme suppose M. Brandis.

Croyez-moi, cher monsieur,

Votre tout dévoué,

J. P. Six.

I will now proceed to a description of the new instalment. Out of a total of 30 coins, 19 are of types represented in the previous portion of the hoard. Referring to my paper (Num. Chron. *l. c.*), they are of the following numbers:—

No. 3. Pl. VIII. 5, 2 specimens, 248·4 and 247·4 grs. (same die).

No. 4. Pl. VIII. 6, 2 specimens, 249·2 and 247·9 grs. (different dies).

No. 6. Pl. VIII. 9, 2 specimens, 248·7 and 248·4 grs. (same die).

No. 23. Pl. VIII. 28, 1 specimen, 247·7 grs.

No. 26. Pl. VIII. 30, 1 specimen, 247·7 grs.

No. 27. Pl. VIII. 31, 11 specimens, 237·7, 237, 236·1, 236, 236, 236, 235·8, 235, 234·4, 233·8, 230·5 (all from the same die).

The remaining 11 are of types not represented in the previous lot, several being, as far as I know, entirely new and unpublished. I continue the enumeration from p. 286 of my previous paper, commencing with No. 28.

28. *Obv.*—Herakles naked, kneeling, right, on one knee, holding club in raised right hand and strung bow with two arrows in left. Behind, tunny.

Rev.—Usual Cyzicene incuse, as on No. 1. El. wt. 245·4 grs. Pl. VI. 1.

This coin is much worn, and appears to have been longer in circulation than most of the others. There is a well-preserved specimen from the same die in the British Museum.

29. *Obv.*—Herakles naked, kneeling, right, on one knee upon a tunny. He holds his club downwards in his right hand, and lion's ? skin on outstretched left arm.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 247·7 grs. Pl. VI. 2. [Unpublished.]

30. *Obv.*—Naked male figure kneeling, right, on one knee. He holds in his right hand a knife downwards, and in his left a tunny.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 246·4. Pl. VI. 3. [Mus. Hunter, Pl. LXVI. No. 1.]

Of this type there is a hecte in the British Museum.

31. *Obv.*—Naked male figure, bearded ? kneeling, left, on one knee. He holds in his left hand a tunny by the tail.

Rev.—Same as No, 1. El. 248·7 grs. Pl. VI. 4.
[Borrell in Num. Chron., VI., 151.]

Of this type a hecte is engraved by Sestini (Stat. Ant. Pl. V. 10), of which there is a specimen in the Museum.

32. *Obv.*—Naked youth seated facing, his head turned to right. He supports himself upon his left arm, and with his right holds out a tunny by the tail.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 245·9 grs. Pl. VI. 5.
[Paris. Mionnet, Suppl. V., Pl. III. 2.]

33. *Obv.*—Lion to left on tunny, devouring prey.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 246·6 grs. Pl. VI. 6.

This coin is from the same die as a specimen which has been for many years in the British Museum. There is also one in the Luynes Collection (Brandis, p. 403). It differs from No. 21, described in my previous paper, the two varieties being engraved in Sestini (Stat. Ant. Pl. IV. Nos. 16 and 18).

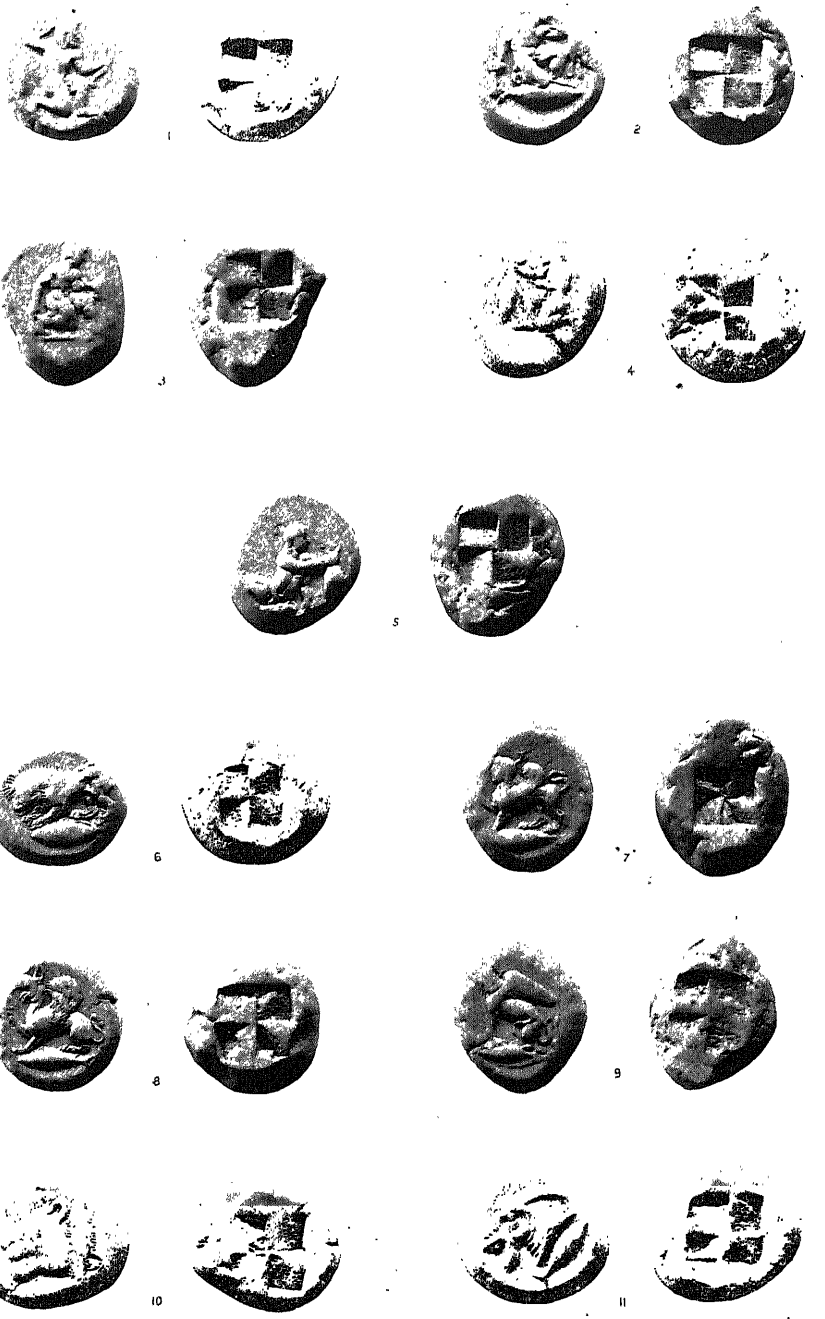
34. *Obv.*—Sphinx with wings curled round, standing, left, on tunny, her right forepaw raised, at the back of her head the hair seems to be twisted up in a sort of pigtail.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 248·4. Pl. VI. 7.
[Unpublished.]

With this coin cf. Rev. Num. 1856, Pl. I. 8, where a somewhat similar sphinx is seated on the tunny; also Sestini, Pl. IX. 8, for a corresponding hecte.

35. *Obv.*—Griffin with rounded wings, seated, left, on tunny, right forepaw raised.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 248·8 grs. Pl. VI. 8.
[Unpublished.]



STATERS OF CYZICUS.

(See also Vol. XVI. Pl. VIII.)

36. *Obv.*—Griffin with pointed wings, seated, left, on tunny, both forepaws on the ground.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 247·5. Pl. VI. 9.
[Unpublished.]

Of this type a hecte is engraved in Sestini (Stat. Ant. Pl. IX. 2).

37. *Obv.*—Lion's or panther's head, left, behind, tunny upwards.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 248 grs. Pl. VI. 10.
[Paris. Brandis, p. 404.]

38. *Obv.*—Goat's head, left, behind tunny.

Rev.—Same as No. 1. El. 247·9. Pl. VI. 11.

Of this type there is a specimen in the British Museum, acquired in 1837, and another in the Luynes Collection (Mion., Suppl. V., Pl. II. 1).

To my remarks on this important treasure in my former paper I have but little to add on the present occasion. It may be well, however, to state that the coins of Lampsacus, of which I have now seen 16 (the total number contained in the hoard having been probably not less than 20, and all from the same die), are for the most part in better preservation than those of Cyzicus: whence it would appear that the majority of the Cyzicenes had been longer in circulation than the Lampsacenes at the time when the hoard was deposited. If, then, the year B.C. 412 be accepted as the latest probable date of the deposit (see p. 292 of my last article), it would follow that all the 37 types of the Cyzicene stater occurring in this hoard were struck before that date. On the other hand, the uniformity in the art style of the coins in question renders it highly improbable that the space of time during which we may suppose them to have been in

course of emission can have been a very extended one. For my own part I am inclined to think that a very large majority of them must have been struck during a comparatively short interval, let us say a dozen or fifteen years. Now we have in all, up to the present, 37 different types. Is it possible that these can be the issues of 37 successive years, as M. Six would suggest? I think not; and if not we must suppose the coin-types to have been changed more frequently than once a year, or, what is still more probable, that several, perhaps numerous, types were in use at one and the same time. No estimate of the duration of the Cyzicene coinage from the number of known types, such as M. Six forms in his letter, can therefore, in my judgment, be accepted as trustworthy.

I confess, therefore, that I see no reason to depart from my opinion that the activity of the Cyzicene mint was limited to the period of about ninety years between 478 and 387, and that in all probability the present find includes no coins of a later date than 412 or thereabouts.

With my suggestion that the current value at Athens of the Cyzicene stater in the fifth century B.C. may have been as high as 37 Attic drachms, M. Six entirely disagrees, and the reasons which he adduces in favour of a much lower value are weighty. Nevertheless, until we possess an analysis of a stater of Cyzicus (not merely of hectae, apparently of *other towns than Cyzicus*, as at present), absolute certainty on this point is unattainable. Demosthenes gives us the current value in his own time, but this is not necessarily identical with that of two or three generations earlier, before the immense influx of gold which followed the opening up of the mines at Philippi.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

August, 1877.

IX.

OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MONNAIES PHÉNICIENNES.

"Navis in Sidonis antiquissimis. Re maritima Sidonios forte omnium gentium primos valuisse, lippis notum."—Eckhel, D. N. V., iii. p. 369.

Bien que les monnaies phéniciennes soient nombreuses et variées et présentent assez d'intérêt pour fournir ample matière à une monographie spéciale et détaillée, elles ont été dans les derniers temps fort négligées des numismatistes.

Il faut faire pourtant une exception en faveur de M. Brandis, qui dans son bel ouvrage, "Münzwesen in Vorderasien," ne s'est pas borné à donner une liste de toutes les variétés antérieures à Alexandre dont le poids lui était connu, mais qui a encore entrepris de répartir les différentes séries entre les villes de la Phénicie sans se laisser rebuter par les difficultés qu'oppose à tout essai de classification le manque de légendes explicites.

Cependant, malgré l'importance des résultats obtenus par M. Brandis, il reste encore tant de questions à résoudre et de points obscurs à éclaircir, que je n'ai pas cru faire chose inutile en publiant les quelques observations que m'a suggéré l'étude des monnaies phéniciennes, afin de contribuer pour ma part à mettre plus en évidence cette série si intéressante.

Comme les villes de la Phénicie faisaient partie de

l'empire perse en vertu d'un traité d'alliance[1] et n'avaient pas été soumises par les armes, elles avaient gardé leur autonomie, étaient gouvernées selon leurs propres us et coutûmes et formaient comme un état distinct dans la cinquième satrapie,[2] qui comprenait en outre la Célésyrie, la Palestine et l'île de Chypre. Le tribut annuel ne semble pas avoir été trop lourd et en fournissant leur contingent à la flotte destinée à combattre les Grecs et à les éloigner de la Chypre, elles servaient à ce qu'il paraît leurs propres intérêts au moins autant que ceux du roi de Perse.[3] Sidon, Tyr et Aradus étaient les villes dominantes d'où dépendaient les autres. Le roi de Sidon commandait la flotte perse. Après lui venaient ceux de Tyr et d'Aradus, chacun en tête de son contingent. Il en était ainsi du temps de l'expédition de Xerxès en Grèce,[4] et encore en 395 les quatre-vingts navires phéniciens qui viennent se joindre à Conon sont commandés par le roi de Sidon.[5]

A l'arrivée d'Alexandre le Grand en Phénicie, l'an 333, nous trouvons quatre villes autonomes, Aradus, Byblus, Sidon et Tyr, et quatre rois qui accompagnent avec les navires de leurs villes l'amiral perse Autophradate.[6] Cependant Tripolis, la ville où se réunissaient les délégués des villes dominantes, était formée de trois villes distinctes, chacune entourée d'un mur et appartenant respectivement aux Sidoniens, aux Tyriens et aux Aradiens,[7] sans

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[1] Herodotus, iii. 19; Hieronymus, "Adv. Jovinian.," i. 45; "Persarum fœdus Ægyptii regis societate neglexerat" (Strato); Schlottmann, "Inschr. Eschmunazars," p. 54.

[2] Herod., iii. 91, ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδηΐου πόλιος—μέχρι Αἰγύπτου—Φοινίκη πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος.

[3] Schlottmann, l.l., p. 56. [4] Herod., vii. 98; viii. 67.

[5] Diodor., xiv. 79. [6] Arrian., "Anab.," ii. 13, 15.

[7] Scylax, "Peripl.," 104; "Geograph. Græc. min.," ed. C. Mueller, t. i.; Diodor., xvi. 41.

qu'il soit fait mention d'un quartier réservé à Byblus dans cette capitale politique. C'est ce qui a engagé M. Movers[8] à supposer que, lorsqu'en 351 Sidon eut été prise par Ochus et brulée par les habitants, Byblus fut appelée à remplacer la métropole dévastée et continua de garder ce rang même après que Sidon se fut relevée de ses ruines.

M. Movers ne connaissait en fait de monnaies royales de Byblus que celles d'Azbaal et d'Enylus, le contemporain d'Alexandre.[9]

Mais depuis il en a été découvert tant d'autres qu'il n'est plus possible de placer toutes ces monnaies dans les vingt ans, qui se sont écoulés entre 351 et 332. Aussi est-ce plus probable que déjà à une époque antérieure Byblus aura profité de circonstances favorables pour se rendre indépendante. En 386 Tyr était soumise à Euagoras le roi de Salamine et les vaisseaux tyriens constituèrent une grande partie de la flotte qu'il opposa aux Perses.[10] Ce fut peut-être alors que Byblus obtint le rang qu'elle occupait encore du temps d'Alexandre.

Les quatres villes Sidon, Tyr, Aradus et Byblus sont donc les seules dont il est probable qu'il existe des monnaies antérieures à la conquête macédonienne.

Byblus.

Il y a en effet une série nombreuse de monnaies de Byblus qui conviennent à cette époque. Les légendes qui nous ont transmis les noms de plusieurs rois, ne laissent aucun doute sur leur attribution et le nom d'Ainêl (Enylus), qui régnait en 333[11] et qui se lit sur quelques exemplaires, fournit une date certaine pour

[8] "Die Phœnicier," ii. 1, p. 553.
[9] Ibid., p. 103.
[10] Diodor., xv. 2.
[11] Arrian., ii. 20.

quelques-unes des espèces les plus récentes. Il est vrai que M. Brandis[12] assigne à ces pièces une date plus reculée, mais cette opinion n'est pas confirmée par les monnaies elles-mêmes. L'absence presque complète du carré creux dont on ne voit de trâces que sur les divisions[13] des plus anciennes pièces, et pas même sur les statères aux mêmes types, la forme des flans et le style, qui n'est pas archaïque du tout, ne permettent pas de remonter plus haut que le commencement du quatrième siècle pour y placer les premières émissions de Byblus. Le poids le plus fort de 14[4] grammes, que fournit un statère du roi Baal (?)[14] est avec le statère d'Euagoras I. de 10[9] gr.[15] dans le rapport exact de quatre à trois. D'autre part les monnaies de bronze font complétement défaut dans cette série, ce qui prouve bien qu'elle n'a pas duré longtemps sous l'empire du roi de Macédoine.

Parmi les variétés décrites par M. Brandis, il y en a une de la collection de Luynes, sur laquelle on ne distingue que les premières lettres de la légende. D'autres exemplaires permettent de compléter cette inscription et d'introduire un nouveau roi, Elpaal, אֶלְפַּעַל,[16] dans la numismatique de Byblus. C'est bien probablement celui que M. Brandis a nommé Baal en lisant לבעל au lieu de אלפעל, mot dont la première lettre n'aura pas été distincte sur les exemplaires qu'il a pu examiner.

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[12] Brandis, p. 375.

[13] Galère à g., dessous hippocampe ; ℞. Vautour à g. sur un bélier incus, le tout dans un carré creux ; Æ. 3. Décrit d'après une empreinte. De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XVI. 47.

[14] Brandis, p. 511.

[15] Ibid., p. 509.

[16] 1 Chron., viii. 11, 12, 18.

En même temps je voudrais modifier l'ordre dans lequel M. Brandis a classé les émissions de Byblus. Celui qu'il a adopté n'est pas en accord avec les types et le style des monnaies. Aussi je propose la classification suivante :—

I. Époque d'Euagoras I., 410—374.

Galère à g. décorée d'une tête de cheval ; dessous hippocampe à g.

Rev.—Vautour à g. sur un bélier incus.

14, 13^{67}. Brandis, Série 4 ; Catal. Démétrio, Pl. XI. n. 1 ; De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XVI. 46.
3^{4}—3^{32}. De Luynes, Pl. XVI. 47.

II. Époque des Rois de Sidon : Straton I., 374 ?—362, et Tennès, 362—351.

Même galère avec tête de lion ou de griphon ? Murex sous l'hippocampe.

Rev.—Lion à g. dévorant un taureau dont le corps est incus.

14. Brandis, Série 2.
3^{65}—2^{90}.
0^{87}—0^{70}.
0^{36}.

Elpaal. אלפעל מלך גבל.

14^{4}—14^{05}. Brandis, Série 1, Baal.
3^{57}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Légende en deux lignes, מ et ל en ligature.
3^{55}—3^{45}. Brandis, Série 1, Baal.
3^{51}—3^{50}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XVI. 48.
. . . . Empreinte reçue de M. Feuardent. Le א et le ם à rebours. Le titre *roi de Gebal* n'est pas ajouté.

III. Époque d'Alexandre le Grand, 333—323.

Même type.

Rev.—Lion à g. dévorant un taureau.

Ainel. Enylos. עינאל מלך גבל, mentionné en 333.

13^{80}—13. Brandis, Série 3 ; De Luynes, Pl. XV. 44, 45.
13^{07}, 13, 12^{47}. Ma coll.; coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Sous la galère —| (11) ? Trois pièces du même coin au droit. ℞. Croix ansée sous le lion, sous le taureau et sur la cuisse du taureau. Le ד à rebours.
0^{76}—0^{65}. De Luynes, Pl. XV. 43.

Azbaal. עזבעל מלך גבל.

13^{25}—13^{05}. Brandis. Série 5.
13^{20}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer, ע sous la galère.
13^{15}, 13^{08}. Brit. Mus.
. . . . Empreinte, ע ס sous la galère.
0^{85}—0^{55}. De Luynes, Pl. XV. 41, 42.

Adramelech. אדרמלך מלך גבל.

0^{75}—0^{67}. Brandis, Série 7. את sous la galère.
0^{65}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. אב sous la galère. Croix ansée sous le lion.

Parmi les monnaies aux types d'Alexandre, M. L. Mueller n'en a pas rencontré une seule qu'il put attribuer à Byblus. Plus tard on trouve quelques bronzes de cette ville, d'abord avec la tête et le nom d'Antiochus IV.,[17] puis des monnaies autonomes, qui prennent fin sous Auguste[18] au temps que commencent les impériales.

Aradus.

Les monnaies d'Aradus sont bien moins rares que celles de Byblus. On les reconnaît à la légende מא qui

[17] Imhoof-Blumer, "Choix de Monn. Grecq.," Pl. VII. n. 224.
[18] Catal. Rollin et Feuardent, n. 7309ter et 7309quater.

n'a pas, que je sache, été expliquée d'une manière satisfaisante.[19] C'est ce qui a induit M. Brandis à classer, avec un signe de doute toutefois, quelques-unes de ces pièces à Marathus.[20] Pourtant le sens de l'inscription se laisse reconnaître en comparant la légende d'un statère d'or d'Aradus aux types d'Alexandre.[21] Ce statère porte dans le champ à droite le monogramme d'Aradus 𐤀 et à gauche 𐤏𐤌, c'est-à-dire עם א', peuple d'A(radus). Il a été frappé, à ce qu'il paraît, en 310, quand, par la mort d'Alexandre Ægus en 311, le trône d'Alexandre le Grand fut devenu vacant. Alors les villes commencèrent à inscrire leurs propres noms sur les monnaies royales en or. C'est ce qui résulte entr'autres de l'examen des monnaies d'Acé. Les statères portent les dates de 23 à 46.[22] En prenant pour point de départ l'année 332[23] dans laquelle Alexandre, après la prise de Tyr et de Gaza, se rendit définitivement maître de toute la cinquième satrapie, l'an 23 d'Acé tombe précisément en 310. Or si—alors que surtout par l'influence de Ptolémée les rois indigènes avaient été détrônés tant en Chypre[24] qu'en Phénicie—les lettres עם א' ont servi d'équivalent et d'explication au mot ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ exprimé par le monogramme, il est clair que les lettres מ' א', qui se lisent sur les monnaies au temps qu'Aradus était encore régie par des rois, ne peuvent signifier autre chose que מלך ארוד, roi d'Aradus.

Il s'en suit qu'Aradus peut revendiquer toutes les

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[19] Brandis, p. 376.
[20] Ibid., p. 512.
[21] Catal. Allier, Pl. V. 8; Mueller, "Alexandre," n. 1367.
[22] Ibid., n. 1452 à 1463.
[23] M. Mueller propose en outre 333 et 334 et adopte la dernière année, p. 81.
[24] Droysen, "Geschichte des Hellenismus," i. p. 401, 404.

pièces sur lesquelles ces lettres se lisent, sans en excepter celles que le type de Dagon Ichthyomorphe avait engagé M. Brandis à classer séparément.[25] Ces dernières sont, à en juger d'après le poids, de date un peu plus récente que les autres et c'est là ce qui peut fournir l'explication du changement apporté dans les types.

Pour préciser l'époque où commence la série d'Aradus il faut tenir compte du carré creux, très-peu profond il est vrai, dans lequel la galère du revers est placée, et du style de la tête laurée de Melkart dont l'œil est représenté de face sur les statères les plus anciens. L'emploi du carré creux ou plutôt d'un coin carré pour le type du revers a duré très-longtemps dans certaines parties de l'Asie. En Chypre les monnaies des rois de Citium en gardent les traces jusque sous Alexandre le Grand. Mais le style de la tête, la forme des flans pareille à celle des statères de Baalmalek et d'Azbaal—ces rois de Citium dont M. de Vogüé[26] place les règnes entre 450 et 420—et le manque[27] de légendes sur les plus anciennes pièces engagent pourtant à ne pas faire commencer la numismatique d'Aradus beaucoup plus tard que celle de Citium en Chypre. Le poids empêche de remonter trop haut. Le chiffre le plus fort noté par M. Brandis[28] est 10^{67}gr. Ce poids n'atteint pas tout à fait celui de 11^{145} et 11^{08} de quelques statères de Baalmalek et d'Azbaal,[29] mais il est d'accord avec celui de 10^{9} du statère d'Euagoras, 410—374, et de ceux de 10^{45} à 9^{46} et 10^{95} à 10 des statères

[25] Brandis, p. 512.
[26] "Revue Numism.," 1867, p. 370.
[27] Si du moins ce manque de légende n'est pas occasionné par le peu de largeur des flans.
[28] Brandis, p. 514.
[29] "Num. Chron.," N.S. xi., 1871, p. 16, n. 39, 43.

frappés en Cilicie par Pharnabaze en 378—373 et après 373 par Datame.[30]

C'est probablement en 448, après que les Athéniens se furent retirés de la Chypre, où ils avaient fait la guerre pendant plusieurs années, que l'influence phénicienne commença à dominer à tel point qu'une dynastie citienne ou tyrienne—ce qui revient au même puisque Citium était colonie de Tyr—parvint à s'établir à Salamine.[31] C'est alors que commencent les monnaies de Baalmalek, car, sur ses plus anciennes statères on voit dans le champ, devant le lion du revers, la tête de bélier,[32] qui avait été depuis Euelthon, vers 530, le type des rois de Salamine. Par contre le lion, type constant à Citium, remplace à Salamine l'ancien type sur une série de monnaies[33] qu'on ne peut refuser au prédécesseur d'Euagoras I., puisque Euagoras II. plaça plus tard les mêmes types sur ses statères d'or.[34]

Après les statères anépigraphes viennent ceux qui sont marqués des lettres 𐤀 𐤁 seules. A ceux-ci succède une série sur laquelle ces lettres sont suivies des chiffres — (10), 𐄇— (14) et 𐄇𐤋 (13) à 𐄇𐄇𐤋 (17), qui indiquent à ce qu'il paraît les années de règne d'un des souverains. A Citium, Pumiaton est le premier qui ait marqué les années de son règne sur ses hémidariques d'or, et ce prince ne peut avoir commencé de régner avant 368 puisque sa trente-septième année tombe au plus tôt en 332.[35]

[30] Brandis, p. 509 et 429.

[31] Isocrates, "Euagoras," p. 192; Diodor., xiv. 98; Theopomp., xii. fr. iii., Mueller.

[32] "Num. Chron.," l.l., p. 16, n. 39, 40. Ces statères étaient inconnus quand M. de Vogüé publia son mémoire.

[33] De Luynes, "Numism. Cypriote," Pl. II. n. 3—9.

[34] Von Sallet, "Zeitschr. fuer Numism.," ii., 1875, p. 132, Pl. V. 2.

[35] De Vogüé, "Rev. Numism.," 1867, p. 374.

Sa quarante-sixième année, la dernière qui ait été retrouvée, n'est donc pas antérieure à 323, l'an de la mort d'Alexandre. D'après cela les statères d'Aradus avec dates doivent être placés, à ce qu'il semble, entre 370 et 350. Enfin viennent des lettres variantes placées après la légende. J'ai trouvé mentionnées א coll. Imhoof-Blumer; ח de Luynes; כ de Luynes, "Choix," Pl. XII. 6; מ coll. Imhoof-Blumer; נ catal. Behr, n. 857 et ma coll.; ס et ע de Luynes et Brandis.[36]

Que signifient ces lettres? Ont-elles servi à marquer des émissions successives ou sont-elles les initiales et noms de magistrats, qui auraient été préposés à l'atelier monétaire d'Aradus? Il ne peut être question de six rois, qui auraient régné l'un après l'autre, puisque les exemplaires que j'ai pu examiner sont tous d'un même style et paraissent avoir été frappés à la même époque vers le milieu du quatrième siècle.

Suivent alors les drachmes de 3^{35} à 2^{5} gr. au type de Dagon et les divisions au même type.[37] Les bronzes[38] qui font partie de cette classe en déterminent l'époque, qui est celle des derniers Achæménides et d'Alexandre, 350 à 320.

Bientôt Aradus abandonne l'ancien poids pour adopter le système attique introduit par les Macédoniens et après avoir mis en circulation quelques rares pièces à ses propres types—s'il faut en croire M. Brandis[39]—elle se servit

[36] De Luynes, "Mém. s. le sarcoph. d'Esmunazar," p. 58.
[37] Brandis, p. 512.
[38] Ibid., p. 574; Millingen, "Sylloge," Pl. IV. n. 60, 61.
[39] Si le tétradrachme de 16^{6} gr. du cabinet de Luynes est identique à la pièce gravée dans le "Choix de Méd. Gr.," Pl. XII. 4, il ne doit pas être classé avec M. Brandis, p. 515, 270, à la fin mais en tête de la série d'Aradus et date non de 330 mais de 450 environ, alors que les Athéniens n'avaient pas

pour longtemps des types d'Alexandre. Les tétradrachmes des classes II., III., et IV. de M. Mueller peuvent être rangés entre 330 et 280, et sur plusieurs d'entr'eux se voit dans le champ un caducée, symbole qui convient à Marathus, ville florissante qui dépendait d'Aradus et dont les bronzes offrent souvent ce même symbole. Sous le règne d'Antiochus I., 281—262, le monogramme d'Aradus se lit souvent sur les tétradrachmes du roi de Syrie.[40] En 258, sous Antiochus II., commence l'ère d'Aradus,[41] qui paraît avoir été aussi adoptée à Marathus, devenue indépendante de son ancienne métropole.

Mais ce n'est que la vingt-et-unième année, en 238, que commence l'émission des tétradrachmes, rangés par M. Mueller dans sa cinquième classe et qui continuent jusqu'à la quarante-sixième année, en 214, à être marqués de chiffres phéniciens IN שת à IIIIIINN שת. Bientôt les dates son indiquées par des lettres numérales grecques NH, Ξ, ΞA et OS, 202, 199, 198 et 183 av. J.-C.[42]

A ces monnaies aux types d'Alexandre succèdent des drachmes pareilles à celles d'Ephèse et émises probablement en vertu d'un traité spécial conclu avec cette ville d'Ionie. On en trouve depuis 169 jusqu'en 148, en 127 et en 110, ϙ à PIA, BΛP, ΘΛP.[43]

En 152-1, la cent-soixantième année de l'ère des Seleucides, Alexandre I. Bala fit frapper à Aradus le beau tétradrachme publié par le Duc de Luynes.[44] C'est

encore quitté la Chypre. Il ne reste alors que les divisions de 2^4 et 2^7 gr. qui ne sont que des drachmes asiatiques faibles.

[40] Mion., v. n. 67, 69, 82, 77 ; ma coll.

[41] Eckhel, D. N. Vet., iii. p. 395.

[42] Mueller, "Alexandr.," n. 1380 à 1390.

[43] Mionnet, v. p. 457, n. 794 ; p. 458, n. 798.

[44] "Revue Numism.," 1850, p. 316, Pl. XI. 3.

alors qu'Aradus parvint à s'emparer de Marathus et à détruire sa rivale[45] et bientôt elle se trouva à même de faire une émission de statères à ses propres types. La première date que *j'ai rencontrée*, ΓΚΡ, 123, tombe en 136 sous le règne d'Antiochus VII. et la dernière, CIΓ, 213, en 46.[46] Après lors Aradus n'a plus eu que des bronzes.

Marathus.

Cette ville ne nous à laissé que bien peu de monnaies en argent et une série assez nombreuse de bronzes. Outre le tétradrachme aux types d'Alexandre, que M. Mueller a attribué à Marathus[47] et que je classerais volontiers à l'an 238 environ, il y a quelques tétradrachmes et drachmes au nom de la ville[48] que leurs dates 33, 34 et 35 permettent d'assigner aux années 226 à 224. Puis des bronzes à divers types, tous datés, mais sur lesquels les chiffres ne sont pas toujours parfaitement lisibles.

La première date qui me paraît certaine est 23, ce qui

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[45] Diodor., xxxiii. 5, éd. Didot.

[46] Leake, "As. Gr.," p. 26; Mion., v. p. 457, n. 792; "Num. Chron.," 1864, p. 187.

[47] Mueller, "Alex.," n. 1396.

[48] Vaux, "Num. Chron." xx., 1859, p. 84—96. La liste des dates à la p. 91 doit être corrigée en plusieurs endroits et l'hémidrachme de l'an 100 ? appartient à Aradus. ЄN désigne un magistrat, comme ЄN (an 140), "Mus. Lavy," i. n. 3042, Pl. II. 26; ΞI (an 131), "Num. Zeitschr.," i. 1869, p. 38, Pl. XI. 1; ΘCɔ (an 141) et ΘC (an 147 ?) coll. Imhoof; AC (an 160 ou plutôt 144), De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. xvi. et 179, 6, Pl. IX. 9; BC (an 146) et BCΛ (an 149), ma coll., sur des pièces analogues. C'est à M. Imhoof-Blumer que je dois cette remarque. Il était d'usage à Aradus à cette époque, de n'inscrire le nom de la ville que sur les monnaies de grand module, ce qui à fait que les divisions et les bronzes ont été souvent attribuées à d'autres villes ou réléguées parmi les incertaines de la Phénicie.

revient à 236 et la dernière 107, ce qui nous mène à 152, l'année avant qu'Alexandre Bala fit frapper des tétradrachmes à Aradus et autorisa, à ce qu'il paraît, les Aradiens à ruiner la ville voisine.

Tyr.

Tyr peut revendiquer à bon droit la suite de monnaies que M. Brandis assigne à cette ville à cause du murex, symbole tyrien par excellence, qui se voit dans le champ de quelques pièces.

En effet il est tout naturel de supposer que, lorsque Tyr fut devenue la métropole, ses types furent introduits sur les espèces des villes secondaires comme Aradus et Byblus, d'autant plus qu'Aradus est nommée *βασίλεια Τύρου* dans le "Periple" de Scylax,[49] qui fut rédigé entre 338 et 335,[50] ce qui dénote, quel que soit le sens de cette expression, une relation très-intime entre les deux villes. En conséquence nous trouvons l'hippocampe, que Melkart monte sur les statères de Tyr pour courir les mers, accompagner la galère sur les drachmes d'Aradus au type de Dagon, de même que ce symbole avait déjà été antérieurement adopté à Byblus. Puis le murex dans le champ des statères des rois de Byblus, Azbaal et Enylus, et le dauphin sur de rares pièces contemporaines à Aradus.[51] Mais ce qui est plus important de constater c'est le changement notable survenu dans la forme de la galère, qui est le type du droit de toutes les espèces de Byblus.

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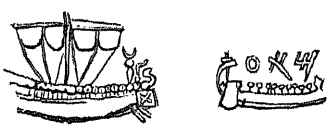
[49] Scylax, "Peripl.," 104.

[50] C. Mueller, "Geogr. Græc. min.," i. p. xliv.

[51] T. barbue a dr.; ꝶ. Proue à dr., dessous dauphin à dr. Ar. 1 0^{12} gr. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

M. B. Graser a été le premier à faire cette observation.[52] Il a fait ressortir les différences entre l'ancien vaisseau de guerre phénicien tel qu'il se voit sur les statères d'Aradus et sur le statère anépigraphe de Byblus[53] et le nouveau type, que nous font connaître les monnaies d'Azbaal et d'Enylus.[54]

L'explication de ce changement n'est pas difficile à trouver. L'ancien type avec sa poupe finissant en une espèce de carré surmonté d'un demi-cercle ne peut être



que le type sidonien et les monnaies, sur lesquelles il se trouve, nous font connaître sans doute la forme du vaisseau amiral de la flotte perse que montait le roi de Sidon. Le nouveau type par contre, avec sa poupe qui se relève sans interruption en demi-cercle, me semble



devoir son origine à Tyr et dans ce cas les monnaies qui nous offrent des navires de cette forme pourront être classés avec confiance après l'an 351, quand par la destruction de la flotte sidonienne[55] le contingent de Tyr se

[52] Graser, "Die aeltesten Schiffsdarstellungen auf antiken Muenzen," Berlin, 1870, p. 12.

[53] De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XVI. 46, 47; Feuardent, "Catal. Demetrio," Pl. XI. 1.

[54] De Luynes, l.l., Pl. XV. 41—45.

[55] Diodor., xvi. 45.

trouva occuper le premier rang dans la flotte perse.[56] Cette observation nous servira tantôt à retrouver les monnaies de Sidon, mais auparavant il reste à dire quelques mots sur la numismatique de Tyr.

Si les statères à l'hippocampe monté par l'archer divin et à la chouette munie des insignes de la royauté[57] ont été classés à bon droit à la ville de Melkart, il est bien probable que la prise de cette ville par Alexandre a eu des suites que les monnaies nous permettront encore de constater.

En effet il résulte des recherches de M. Brandis,[58] que le poids des statères tombe de 13^{0} à 8^{85} gr.[59] et que les pièces qui appartiennent à cette dernière série portent les dates 2, 3, et 23 à 37.[60] Sur celles des années 2 et 3 le chiffre est accompagné de la lettre מ, l'initiale de מלך roi, et en outre d'un א A(lexandre) dans le champ d'un exemplaire.[61] Sur d'autres statères des mêmes années il n'y a dans le champ qu'un צ, l'initiale du nom de Tyr, צור.[62] Il semble qu'il n'y a pas eu d'émission la première année, ce qui s'explique facilement si on la fait coïncider avec l'année du siége 332.[63] Le roi de Tyr

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[56] Les deux types se retrouvent sur les monuments égyptiens. Graser, l.l., Pl. A, n. 1—3.

[57] F. Lenormant, "Lettres Assyriolog.," ii. p. 268—271.

[58] Brandis, p. 514.

[59] Ces statères de 8^{8} gr. n'appartiennent pas au système euboïque, comme le pense M. Brandis. A en juger d'après deux exemplaires de la collection Wigan, tout deux fourrés et du poids de 9^{26}, an 24 et 9^{13}, an 29, ce sont des statères perses, affaiblis de manière à correspondre environ aux didrachmes d'Alexandre.

[60] An 23 ma coll.; an 24 Dutens, Pl. I. 1, cab. de Leide, coll. Wigan; an 29, coll. Wigan.

[61] Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

[62] De Luynes, "Choix," Pl. XII. 9.

[63] M. Brandis, p. 376, pense à l'ère des Seleucides, ce qui est bien un peu tard.

Azemilkos ne fut pas détrôné,[64] Tyr resta autonome[65] et le vainqueur releva au plus tôt une ville si importante et vint l'année suivante, 331, à son retour d'Egypte, y célébrer de grandes fêtes et offrir des sacrifices à l'Hercule de Tyr.[66] Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner de trouver des monnaies de cette année.

Après une lacune de vingt ans pendant lesquels Aradus et Acé firent de fréquentes émissions de tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre, la série autonome de Tyr recommence en 310, en même temps que les statères d'or d'Aradus, de Sidon et d'Acé, pour durer jusqu'en 296. Elle est accompagnée de quelques rares bronzes aux types d'Alexandre, dont l'un porte la date 26, 307.[67]

En 274 une nouvelle ère commence pour Tyr. Nous le savons par l'inscription d'Oum el-Awamid découverte par M. E. Rénan.[68] Elle est datée de l'an 180 de l'ère des Séleucides et de l'an 143 de l'ère de Tyr, ce qui revient à 132 avant notre ère. Cette ère de Tyr a commencé, à ce qu'il paraît, lorsque Ptolémée II., Philadelphe, eut terminé la conquête du sud de la Phénicie. Les plus anciennes monnaies de ce roi d'Egypte, qui reçut la couronne de son père en 285, ne présentent pas encore le monogramme de Tyr. On ne le voit que quelques années plus tard, posé sur la massue d'Hercule,[69] d'abord sans date, puis avec les dates 20 à 24

[64] Arrian., ii. 24.

[65] Strabo, xvi. 2, 23.

[66] Arrian., iii. 6; Plutarch., "Alex.," 29. Les exemplaires de l'an 2 sont souvent fourrés.

[67] Mueller, "Alex.," n. 1424, 1425.

[68] "Mission de Phénicie," 1864, p. 720—722.

[69] Cette massue n'est-elle pas un indice, qu'il y a eu entre 296 et 275 à Tyr des monnaies au type d'Hercule armé de la massue, comme il y en avait eu auparavant à Citium? Où sont-elles?

du règne de Philadelphe, 266—262. En cette dernière année,[70] la légende, qui jusque là avait été ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ $\overline{\text{ΤΥΡ}}$ιων, devient ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ $\overline{\text{ΤΥΡ}}$ιων, et la tête de Soter est modifiée de manière à présenter les traits de Philadelphe.[71] La raison de ce changement est évidente. En 262 Philadelphe aura confirmé[72] à Tyr l'autonomie respectée par Alexandre et le titre de Soter, qui remplace le mot ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, exprime suffisamment la reconnaissance des Tyriens. Il ne faut pas oublier en outre qu'il y a des tétradrachmes à la légende ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ et la tête âgée d'Antiochus I.,[73] frappées probablement d'abord après la mort de ce roi, par Antiochus II. Or le règne d'Antiochus II. commence précisément en cette même année 262.

Cette émission régulière de statères à l'aigle des Lagides dure non seulement jusqu'en 247, la dernière année de Philadelphe, mais elle continue sous son fils Euergète pour s'arrêter brusquement la huitième année de son règne en 240[74] et presque aussitôt, en 238, Aradus reprend l'émission des tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre, dont il a été fait mention plus haut. Sidon en fait de même[75] et on trouve même un tétradrachme de cette classe à Tyr.[76] Après cette année le monogramme de Tyr reparaît sur un tétradrachme d'Antiochus III.,[77]

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[70] R. Stuart Poole, "Num. Chron.," N.S. v., Pl. X. 11.

[71] M. F. Feuardent, qui a fait cette observation, a eu l'obligeance de me la communiquer.

[72] Strabo, xvi. 2, 28.

[73] Mion., v. n. 65; S., viii. n. 48.

[74] La huitième année est la dernière dont j'ai connaissance.

[75] Mueller, "Alex.," n. 1419—1422.

[76] Ibid., n. 1423.

[77] Leake, "Kings," p. 25.

et de temps en temps sur les statères des rois d'Egypte, l'an 20 d'Euergète I.,[78] vers la fin du règne de Philopator et au commencement de celui d'Epiphane.[79]

Quand la Phénicie eut passé aux rois de Syrie nous trouvons d'abord quelques bronzes tyriens sous Antiochus IV. et Démétrius I., puis les statères recommencent en 149, l'an 163 des Seleucides sous Alexandre I. Bala et continuent sans interruption sous ses successeurs Démétrius II. et Antiochus VII. pour finir en 125, an 187 des Seleuc., sous Antiochus VIII.[80] La même année Tyr inaugure une nouvelle ère d'autonomie, et depuis lors les statères à ses propres types, mais toujours empreints, par reconnaissance pour Philadelphe, de l'aigle des Lagides, continuent régulièrement jusque sous le règne de Néron.[81]

M. Brandis a placé en tête des monnaies de Tyr celles au type d'un dauphin bondissant au dessus des flots. Elles sont les seules sur lesquelles la chouette du revers est placée dans un carré creux et elles portent des légendes peu distinctes sur la plupart des exemplaires.[82]

Les autres statères sont frappés en partie sur des flans très-globuleux et présentent quelquefois les dates 2 et 4

[78] Feuardent, "Catal. Démétrio," n. 154, 215.

[79] "Num. Chron.," N.S. iv., Pl. VII. 14, 16; Pl. IX. 13.

[80] Leake, "Kings," p. 35.

[81] Mionnet, t. v. et Suppl. t. viii.

[82] Deux exemplaires de la collection de M. le comte M. de Vogüé, dont je dois les empreintes à M. Imhoof, permettent de lire sur le statère de 13^{40} gr., Brandis, p. 513, שלשן (שלשן) trente? et sur la pièce de 3^{20} gr. חצית (מחצית) moitié. L'unité du système était donc une drachme de 6^{8} gr., divisée à son tour en quinze unités plus petites de 0^{45}, dont trente formaient le sicle de 13^{6} gr., s'il du moins est permis de voir dans שלשן un équivalent de שְׁלֹשִׁים, et s'il ne faut pas plutôt traduire trentième partie (de la mine de 409 gr., Br., p. 159) שלשן serait alors analogue à עֲשִׂרוֹן dixième de עֶשֶׂר dix.

ou bien la lettre מ (roi). Le poids de toutes ces pièces, 13^6 à 12^6 gr., est identique à celui des statères de Samos pendant le cinquième siècle.[83] Malgré cela je ne proposerais pas de faire commencer la série de Tyr d'abord après le départ des Athéniens de la Chypre, quand l'influence phénicienne parvint à remplacer celle des Grecs dans une grande partie de cette île, ce qui a dû réagir favorablement sur le commerce et la prospérité de Tyr. Bien plutôt je préfère adopter l'opinion de M. B. V. Head,[84] qui fait commencer l'émission de ces monnaies après 400. Ce qui m'y engage surtout c'est l'identité de poids avec les statères de Byblus, qui ne peuvent être reportés au cinquième siècle.

Sidon.

Reste Sidon, dont les monnaies n'ont pas été reconnues par M. Brandis, quoiqu'il en ait donné la liste la plus complète en décrivant les monnaies de la IX^me^ Satrapie.[85] C'est que ce savant distingué s'est trop laissé guider dans son attribution par la forme de quelques lettres, qui lui a paru être plutôt araméenne que phénicienne, au lieu de s'en tenir aux types et de ne pas tirer de conclusions des légendes avant qu'elles aient été expliquées.

M. Graser a été mieux avisé.[86] Il a constaté d'abord que ces vaisseaux de guerre voguant en pleine mer ou amarrés dans le port, qui constituent le type constant du droit de toute cette série, ne peuvent représenter que des navires phéniciens, puisque ceux-ci constituaient la majeure partie et l'élite de la flotte perse. Il en conclut avec raison que l'atelier d'où est sorti toute cette série,

[83] Brandis, p. 466, 467.
[84] "Num. Chron.," N.S., xvi. p. 124, n. 98.
[85] Brandis, p. 424—427. [86] Graser, l.l., p. 11.

doit être cherché au bord de la mer dans la Phénicie même et non pas près de l'Euphrate ou près d'une autre rivière de l'intérieur à Hamath, à Thapsacus ou à Damascus, comme le fait M. Brandis.[87] M. Graser ajoute[88] que les légendes sont écrites en caractères phéniciens et en ce point je suis de son avis quant à la majeure partie de la série.[89] Mais s'il en est ainsi, à quelle ville pourrait-on attribuer les monnaies d'argent les plus pesantes qui aient été frappées en Asie avant Alexandre, si ce n'est à Sidon la métropole de la Phénicie?

En outre sur les doubles statères, qui portent un ב phénicien[90] au dessus de la galère, marche derrière le char du roi un personnage vêtu à l'égyptienne. Il est constaté que les modes et coutumes égyptiennes se sont bien longtemps conservées en Phénicie à côté des usages empruntés aux Asiatiques. Il suffit de citer, outre le sarcophage du roi de Sidon Esmunazar, sculpté tout à fait dans le style égyptien et couvert d'une inscription en lettres phéniciennes, la stèle de Jehawmalek roi de Gébal.[91] Elle nous offre pour la première fois l'image d'un roi phénicien et elle permet de constater que ces princes portaient le costume perse, mais que leur tiare, quoique droite comme celle du grand roi, s'en distinguait pourtant par l'absence de certain ornement,[92] qui donne à

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[87] Brandis, p. 233 et p. 597. [88] Graser, p. 12.

[89] Je reviendrai tantôt sur la seule légende qui a l'air d'être araméenne.

[90] Et non araméen, comme dit M. Brandis, p. 226.

[91] Publiée d'abord par M. le Comte M. de Vogüé dans les Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscr. et Bell. Lettres, 1875, puis par M. J. Euting, "Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.," 1876, xxx. p. 132—137.

[92] M. Brandis a démontré, p. 242, que cet ornement était la cidaris que le grand roi seul avait le droit de porter. (Arrian., iv. 7, 4.) Mais il n'a pas été remarqué, que je sache, que par

la tiare du roi de Perse sur les dariques l'air d'être crénelée ou radiée. Ce roi de Byblus, vêtu comme un perse, est en adoration devant Baaltis, la dame de Gébal et celle-ci est représentée tout à fait comme le serait une déesse égyptienne. Donc la présence de ce haut fonctionnaire en costume égyptien suffirait à elle seule, ce me semble, à nous obliger de restituer à la Phénicie les doubles statères sur lesquels il se trouve représenté.

M. Ch. Lenormant, dans son commentaire sur les monnaies perses,[93] n'a pas négligé de faire remarquer la présence de cet égyptien sur une monnaie perse, mais il n'a pas cherché à trouver l'explication de cette anomalie.

Plus loin ce même savant émet l'opinion que les murailles qui se voient sur d'autres pièces pourraient bien être celles de Tyr. Si M. Lenormant avait mis Sidon, je serais complétement de son avis. On ne peut pas en effet attribuer à une ville, qui n'occupait que le second rang avant 351, les espèces les plus fortes, surtout quand on voit—et c'est là encore une raison de ne pas refuser la série en question à Sidon—que ces pièces forment avec les monnaies d'Aradus et celles de Byblus un système cohérent et complet, tandis que seules elles présentent des lacunes qu'on ne parvient à combler qu'en y introduisant les autres. Il est facile d'en juger par le tableau suivant, dans lequel ont été incorporées les principales émissions de Citium et de Salamine, qui servent en même temps à préciser les dates des différentes séries phéniciennes.

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conséquent, les personnages en costume perse, qui portent la tiare droite sans la cidaris, ne représentent pas un des rois de Perse, mais des princes dépendants comme l'étaient les dynastes phéniciens.

[93] "Trésor de Glyptique et de Numismatique," Rois Grecs, p. 138.

I.

	Grms.			
1	11^4	Statère perse	Baalmalek et Azbaal de Citium, entre 440 et 390.	
$\frac{1}{3}$	3^8		Les mêmes.	
$\frac{1}{12}$	0^{95}		Les mêmes.	
$\frac{1}{24}$	0^{475}		Baalmalek.	

II.

60	28^8	Double statère phén.	Galère. ℞. Roi de Perse.	Sidon avant 351.
30	14^4	Statère phénic.	Galère. ℞. Animaux.	Elpaal de Byblus.
$22\frac{1}{2}$	10^8	Statère perse.	T. de Melkart. ℞. Galère.	Aradus.
			T. de Melkart. ℞. Animal.	Euagoras I., 410—374.
15	7^2	Drachme.	Galère. ℞. Roi de Perse.	Sidon.
				Pnytagoras, env. 355—331.
$7\frac{1}{2}$	3^6	Hémidrachme.	Galère. ℞. Animaux.	Elpaal de Byblus
			T. de Melkart. ℞. Galère.	Aradus.
5	2^4			Pnytagoras, env. 355—331.
2	0^{96}			Sidon, Byblus, Aradus.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	0^{72}			
1	0^{48}			Sidon, Byblus.
$\frac{3}{4}$	0^{36}			Sidon, Byblus.
$\frac{1}{2}$	0^{24}			Sidon.
$\frac{1}{4}$	0^{12}		T. barbue. ℞. Proue.	Aradus.

III.

30	13^6	Statère phénicien.	Tyrus, Enylus de Byblus, en 333.
$22\frac{1}{2}$	10^2	Statère perse.	Melekiaton de Citium, env. 380—368.
$7\frac{1}{2}$	3^4	Hémidrachme.	Tyrus, Melekiaton.
4	1^8		Aradus.
2	0^9		Tyrus, Byblus, Aradus.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	0^{67}		

De ce tableau résulte que les monnaies que je propose d'attribuer à Sidon concordent en poids non seulement avec les plus anciennes pièces de Byblus et d'Aradus, mais encore avec l'hémistatère de Pnytagoras, le roi de Salamine, dont le règne a commencé vers 355.

Il est donc permis de les attribuer à la première moitié du quatrième siècle, surtout puisque les monnaies de Baalmalek et d'Azbaal, qui datent du cinquième siècle, sont plus pesantes. D'autre part nous trouvons à Tyr et à Citium sous Melekiaton, env. 385—368, un poids plus

réduit avec lequel concorde celui des monnaies postérieures de Byblus et celles d'Aradus au type de Dagon. Il faut en conclure qu'après que Sidon eut été dévastée en 351, une réduction de poids eut lieu sous l'influence tyrienne.

Quand l'émission des doubles statères recommence, le poids avait encore diminué et l'hémidrachme n'est plus qu'à 3^{25} grammes.

	R.		
60	26	Galère. ℞. Roi dans un char.	Sidon.
30	13	Galère. ℞. [illegible].	Azbaal de Byblus.
20	8^{70}	Melkart [illegible] Chouette.	Tyr, 332—296.[94]
15	6^{50}	Galère. ℞. Roi dans un char.	Sidon. Nicocréon, env. 331—310.
$7\frac{1}{2}$	3^{25}	Galère. ℞. Roi dans un char.	Sidon.
		Dagon. ℞. Galère hippocampe.	Aradus.
5	2^{17}		Nicocréon.
3	1^{30}	Dagon. ℞. Galère hippocampe.	Aradus.
2	0^{87}	Galère. ℞. Roi combattant le lion.	Sidon.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	0^{65}	Galère. ℞. Animaux.	Azbaal, Adramelech, Byblus.
	Æ.		
$\frac{1}{4}$	6^{50}	Galère. ℞. Roi dans un char.	Sidon.
$\frac{1}{8}$	3^{25}	Galère. ℞. Roi en archer.	Sidon.
		Dagon. ℞. Galère.	Aradus.
$\frac{1}{30}$	0^{87}	Galère. ℞. Roi en archer.	Sidon.
		T. barbue. ℞. Proue.	Aradus.

Alors Aradus n'a plus de statères, Tyr réduit les siens à l'effet de leur donner la valeur d'un didrachme attique. C'est que nous sommes à l'époque d'Alexandre, comme il résulte de l'hémistatère de 6^{36} gr. de Nicocréon,[95] qui régna à Salamine entre 331 et 310.

Il était utile de constater que les monnaies de Sidon

[94] Quelques exemplaires fourrés excèdent le poids requis, mais la majorité des statères ne pèse pas plus de 8^{85} gr. et parfois moins de 8 gr.

[95] Brandis, p. 509, sous Nicoclès; Pieridès, "Num. Chron.," N.S., ix. p. 19—24; von Sallet, "Zeitschr. f. Numism.," ii., 1875, p. 130.

aux types perses, à en juger d'après le poids, n'ont pas commencé avant le quatrième siècle et n'ont pas pris fin à l'arrivée d'Alexandre, afin de faire voir pourquoi les dates beaucoup plus reculées données par M. Brandis[96] ne me semblent pas pouvoir être admises.

Il me reste à démontrer que les séries proposées par M. Brandis[97] et qui selon lui se seraient succédées pendant une assez longue période, sont en grande partie contemporaines. A cet effet il est nécessaire de décrire et d'éxaminer les différentes espèces dont l'attribution à Sidon paraît être probable.

I.

1. Galère de l'ancien type à g., avec son mât garni de voiles, voguant en pleine mer.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse portant la tiare crénelée est debout dans un char tiré par des chevaux en galop à g. et conduit par un aurige. Dans le champ en haut, partie antérieure de bouc, à longues cornes, incuse. Le tout dans un carré creux, dont il ne reste que quelques traces.

Æ. 7 27^{10} gr., fruste. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer, "Choix de Monn. Grecq.," Pl. VII. n. 229. Décrite comme plusieurs des monnaies suivantes d'après les empreintes que je dois à l'amitié de M. Imhoof-Blumer et de M. Reg. Stuart Poole.

2. Même type.

Rev.—Le roi debout à dr. tirant de l'arc. A droite, tête incuse à dr. de bouc à longue corne, à gauche tête incuse à g. barbue. Restes du carré creux au dessus du roi.

Æ. 4 7^{06}. Ma coll.

Æ. 4 6^{98}. Belle. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer; Catal. Hoffmann, févr. 1874, n. 2711; Tychsen, "De Num. Vet. Pers.," ii. p. 28, T. I. 5; Muenter, "Unters. v. d. Persep. inscr.," ii. p. 3 (1800).

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[96] Brandis, p. 226, *s. v.*

[97] Ibid., p. 425, 426.

3. Mêmes types.

R. 1 0⁷⁰. Coll. de Vogüé; Brandis, p. 427.

4. Tête diadémée de femme à dr.

Rev.—Même revers tourné à g.

R. ½ 0⁵³. Ma coll.

5. Même galère que sur les n. 1 à 3.

Rev.—Le roi agenouillé à dr. tire de l'arc. A dr. et à g. mêmes têtes incuses. Le tout dans un carré creux.

R. 1 0⁶². Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

R. 1 0⁷⁰. Coll. de Luynes; Brandis, p. 427.

6. Galère à g. avec mât et voile triangulaire.

Rev.—Le roi diadémé? sans tiare, debout à dr., le carquois sur l'épaule, tire de l'arc. Le tout dans un grénétis.

R. 4 6³⁵. Cab. de Vienne.

II.

1. Galère de même forme à gauche, posé sur un quai devant une muraille crénelée flanquée de cinq tours. Sous la poupe une inscription en très-petites lettres. A l'exergue deux lions courant en sens contraire.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse dans un char au galop à g., conduit par un aurige. Dessous bélier incus courant à g.

R. . . 28⁰⁷—25⁸⁰. Brandis, p. 424.

R. 8½ 28⁰¹. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer; sous la poupe, hl.ϙ. Surfrappé sur un exemplaire du n. I. 1. On distingue au droit les vagues et au revers une partie du carré creux et de la roue du char.

R. 7 27⁵⁸. Brit. Mus. Sans lettres apparentes.

R. 8 27⁵². Brit. Mus. Sous le bélier ʿAYIN, עם, peuple, écrit à rebours. Sous la poupe hc.ס. Du même coin au droit que l'ex. de M. Imhoof.

R. 7 26⁹⁴. Brit. Mus. Catal. Huber, n. 887. Au dessus du char בע. L'inscription sous la poupe n'est pas lisible.

Æ. 8 26^{68}. Brit. Mus. Derrière le char personnage vêtu à l'égyptienne ? ℞. A dr. même personnage ? Sous la poupe un 𐤁 ?

2. Même type, la muraille n'a que quatre tours. Traces d'un 𐤁 sous la galère.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse à dr., combattant un lion dressé devant lui, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 3½ 7^{04}=108^{6}. Catal. Huber, n. 898.

Æ. 3½ 6^{96}—6^{45}. . Brandis, p. 424.

Æ. 4 . . . . Brit. Mus. ; 𐤁 au dessus des tours.

Æ. 3½ . . . Brit. Mus. 𐤆 𐤇 𐤉 au dessus des tours. ℞. 𐤏𐤁.

Æ. 5 . . . . Brit. Mus. . . . . ℞. 𐤑𐤌, 𐤏𐤌 ?

3. Même type. La muraille n'a que trois tours. Un seul lion à g. à l'exergue.

Rev.—Même type et même têtes incuses qu'un revers du n. i. 2. Le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1 0^{84}—0^{67}. Ma coll.

Æ. 1 0^{76}—0^{52}. Brandis, p. 424.

Æ. 1 0^{37}. . . Ibid.

4. Même type.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse agenouillé tient l'arc et la haste.

Æ. ½ 0^{28}. . . Brandis, l.l.

5. Même type, mais la muraille n'a que deux tours.

Rev.—Pareil à celui du n. I. 5.

Æ. ½ 0^{19}. . . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

III.

1. Galère de même forme avec ses rames au dessus des vagues de la mer. Dessus grand 𐤁.

Rev.—Le roi de Perse dans un char au pas à g., conduit par un aurige en costume perse avec la tiare simple. Derrière le char marche un phénicien vêtu à l'égyptienne tenant un sceptre recourbé.

Æ. 9 28^{3}—26^{62}. Brandis, p. 424.

Æ. 9 27^{73}. . . . Ma coll. La tiare du roi est crénelée.

Æ. 10-8 27^{46}. Ma coll. La tiare du roi n'est pas crénelée.

Æ. 9 27^{42}. . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. La tiare du roi n'est pas crénelée. Traces de surfrappe sur ces deux derniers exemplaires, v. "Trésor de Numism.," Rois Grecs., Pl. LXVI. 2.

2. Mêmes types et même lettre mais sans le personnage derrière le char.

Æ. 4 6^{87}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. Traces de surfrappe au droit. L'aurige a la tête nue.

3. Même type et même lettre.

Rev.—Le roi debout à dr. combat un lion debout à dr. qui retourne la tête.

Æ. 1 0^{82}. Ma coll.

4. Même type et même lettre.

Rev.—Même revers, mais le lion est à g. et ne retourne pas la tête. Dans le champ 𐤑, le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1 1^{0}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Æ. 1 0^{90}—0^{54}. Brandis, p. 425.

5. Même type sans lettre.

Rev.—Même revers. Dans le champ 𐤑 et coq.

Æ. 1 0^{77}—0^{65}. Brandis, l.l.

6. Même type.

Rev.—Le roi courant à dr., dans la g. arc, dans la dr. haste, dans un carré creux.

Æ. ½ 0^{34}. . . Ma coll.

Æ. ½ 0^{30}. . . Brandis, p. 427.

Toutes les monnaies qui viennent d'être décrites ont cela de commun, que le type du droit est toujours la galère de l'ancien type, que je suppose avoir été en usage à Sidon avant 351, et que le roi de Perse ? dans différentes attitudes forme constamment le type du revers. Mais les diverses séries se distinguent d'un autre côté par des particularités très-caractéristiques.

Sur le double statère n. II. 1, le bélier incus est pareil à celui qui se voit sous le vautour sur le statère anépigraphe de Byblus.[98] Or il est remarquable qu'un bélier a été le type des rois de Salamine depuis Euelthon qui régnait en 530 env. Cette coïncidence n'est pas fortuite. Les monnaies précédents I. 1—5 et les suivantes II. 3—5 portent incuses à côté du type principal une tête barbue un peu indistincte et une tête de bouc à longues cornes. Or la tête barbue d'Hercule et le bouc à longues cornes sont précisément les types du magnifique statère d'Euagoras I.[99]

Il serait hasardé de vouloir expliquer pourquoi les monnaies de Sidon ont été contremarquées des types du roi de Salamine. Il faut se souvenir toutefois que la Chypre faisait partie de la même satrapie que la Phénicie et qu'il est par conséquence fort probable que les monnaies phéniciennes lorsqu'elles étaient munies de l'effigie royale avaient cours à Salamine.

C'est peut-être à ce même Euagoras que doivent être attribuées quelques rares dariques d'or qui offrent l'effigie d'un monarque imberbe et vêtu d'une autre manière que le roi de Perse. Au revers on voit à droite et au haut du carré creux traditionnel deux têtes incuses, l'une barbue à g. et coiffée d'une espèce de couronne murale, l'autre cornue d'Ammon à g.

N. 3½—2 $8^{21} = 126^{5}$. "Num. Chron.," N.S. xvi., Pl. VI. 7.

N. 3—2 8^{20}. . . . . Mus. de Berlin, v. Prokesch-Osten, Ined. i. 1854, p. 293, Pl. IV. 31; Brandis, p. 245; M. Friedländer doute de l'authenticité de cet exemplaire.

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[98] De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XVI., 46, 47. Catal. Démétrio, Pl. XI. 1.

[99] De Luynes, "Num. Cypr.," Pl. IV. 1. "Zeitschr. f. Num.," ii., Pl. V. 1.

N. $3\frac{1}{2}$ 8^{50}. . . . . Coll. De Luynes, "Choix," Pl. XII. 14; Rois Grecs, Pl. LXIV. 4; Mion. S., VIII. p. 423, n. 5; Pl. XIX. 2. La partie postérieure de la tête d'Ammon paraît avoir été prise erronément pour une figure nue assise.

M. Brandis[100] a proposé de classer ces dariques à Alexandre, vu que le poids surpasserait celui des autres dariques et qu'il serait improbable qu'un roi de Perse eut jamais été représenté imberbe. Mais comme Euagoras était zélé promoteur des coutumes grecques et que ces dariques conviennent mieux au commencement qu'à la fin du quatrième siècle, il me semble que ce prince, qui ne conclut la paix avec Artaxerxès qu'à condition d'être traité par lui comme son égal, a plus de droit de les revendiquer qu'Alexandre. Ils datent dans ce cas des dernières années d'Euagoras, 382—374. Il y a d'autant moins d'objection à les lui attribuer que ses successeurs Euagoras II., Pnytagoras et Nicocréon ont eu des monnaies d'or du même poids.[101]

L'inscription de quatre lettres sous la galère du double statère n. II. 1 est très-difficile à lire. Sur l'empreinte je crois voir ברתצ. Mais si la dernière lettre est un ת, comme le croient M. Imhoof et M. Poole, il y a peut-être ברצת.[101*] Dans ce cas il faudrait comparer la légende בארצת des monnaies de Carthage.[102] Dans le premier cas je proposerais de séparer la légende en deux groupes, de voir dans la dernière lettre צ l'initiale du nom de Sidon צִידוֹן et dans les trois premières—reliées ensemble par la longue haste du ב—l'équivalent du mot hébreu

[100] Brandis, p. 245.

[101] "Zeitsch. f. Numism.," ii. p. 136. [101*] Ou bien ברית.

[102] L. Mueller, "Numism. de l'anc. Afr.," ii. p. 122 *sq.*; Suppl. p. 53.

בְּרִית, alliance, confédération et encore signe de confédération. La légende aurait donc le sens de: confédération de Sidon ou (monnaie) de confédération de Sidon et serait analogue à celle du bronze d'Alaesa en Sicile du temps de Timoléon, ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ[103] et à celles que portent les statères de poids béotien frappés entre 394 et 391 par Rhodes, Samos, Ephèse, Jasus et Cnide en alliance avec Thèbes, ΡΟ ΣΥΝ, ΣΑ ΣΥΝ, ΕΦΕ ΣΥΝ, ΙΑ ΣΥΝ,[104] ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΣΥΝ*μαχικον* (*ἀργυριον*).[105]

Les navires sidoniens étaient largement représentés dans la flotte[106] avec laquelle Conon et Pharnabaze libérèrent les villes grecques en Asie de l'hégémonie spartiate et une inscription du genre de celle des statères grecs ne saurait étonner sur une monnaie de Sidon un peu plus récente.

La galère de cette pièce et de ses divisions est placée sur un quai qui longe une haute muraille garnie de tours. C'est la fortification qui borde le port de Sidon du côté de la mer.[107] Les traces n'en ont pas encore disparu. On les reconnaît sur le plan de Sidon que M. E. Rénan a publié dans la Mission de Phénicie.[108] La ville est située sur le plan là où les monnaies ont deux lions, symboles des divinités principales vénérées dans l'enceinte de la métropole et qui caractérisent parfaitement la ville habitée par opposition au port.

Les exemplaires de l'hémistatère II. 2 sont tantôt

[103] B. V. Head, "Num. Chron.," N.S., xiv. p. 37.
[104] Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
[105] W. H. Waddington, "Rev. Num.," 1863, Pl. X.
[106] Diodor., xiv. 79.
[107] Scylax, "Peripl.," 104. Σιδὼν πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστὸς.
[108] "Mission de Phénicie," Pl. LXVII. Les restes de la muraille sont indiqués par les chiffres 4.

sans autre inscription qu'un ב ? sous la galère et d'autrefois ils portent dans le champ soit un ב soit נסב ? ou peut-être כ 20, נ et au revers עכ. Le duc de Luynes a cru reconnaître dans ces trois lettres le nom de Nisibis,[109] mais comme cette ville s'écrivait נצב[110] et non pas נסב, il vaut mieux, ce me semble, s'abstenir de cette indentification.

Les doubles statères suivants n. III. 1 se laissent reconnaître au grand ב placé au dessus de la galère. C'est peut-être l'initiale de בְּרִית caché dans la série précédente sous la galère et mis cette fois en évidence au milieu du champ.

L'histoire de Sidon à cette époque est fort peu connue. Le nom du roi qui prit part à la bataille près de Cnide en 394 n'est pas mentionné par les historiens.[111] C'est lui qui a pu faire frapper la classe I. qui a pour type un navire à la voile. Du temps que Nicoclès régnait à Salamine, 374—362 ? Straton était roi de Sidon.[112] Il est fait mention de lui dans un décret athénien[113] et sous son règne éclata la grande révolte contre Artaxerxès à laquelle prirent part, outre le roi d'Egypte Tachos et les Lacédémoniens, la plupart des satrapes, des villes grecques et des peuples de l'Asie mineure et aussi les Syriens et les Phéniciens.[114] Cette coalition formidable fut bientôt dissipée et Straton ne la survécut pas. Sa fin

[109] Thomas-Prinsep, "Essays on Indian Antiq.," ii. p. 176.

[110] Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Νίσιβις. Movers, "Phoen.," ii. 2, p. 163.

[111] M. Schlottmann a tâché de démontrer que ce fut Esmunazar II., celui dont le sarcophage a été retrouvé, p. 35 *sq.*

[112] Theopomp., xv. fr. 126.

[113] Corp. Inscr. Graec., i. n. 87 : *εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξενον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτωνα τὸν Σιδῶνος βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους.*

[114] Diodor., xv. 90—92.

tragique[115] eut lieu, à ce qu'il paraît, la même année. C'est à ce roi que je voudrais donner la classe suivante II. L'inscription ברת צ', presque cachée sous la galère, convient bien à la symmachie générale contre le roi de Perse, à laquelle Sidon prit part, d'abord peut-être en secret par crainte des Perses, puis ouvertement à l'arrivée du roi d'Egypte en Phénicie. Dans ce cas ce serait à Ténnès, son successeur, 362—351, que reviendrait la dernière classe III. Sous son règne Sidon se révolta une seconde fois, fut trahie par le roi lui-même, prise par Ochus et brulée par les habitants[116] pour se soustraire au châtiment qu'ils attendaient du roi de Perse. Or il est curieux d'observer que sur quelques doubles statères, III. 1, le roi ne porte pas la tiare crénelée et qu'il y a en même temps des traces de surfrappe. Faut-il croire que les Sidoniens, lors de la révolte, ont fait frapper leurs monnaies d'un nouveau coin afin d'en éloigner l'image du roi de Perse et de la remplacer par celle de leur propre souverain ?

Après le désastre l'émission des espèces sidoniennes a nécessairement dû être suspendue pendant plusieurs années, jusqu'à ce que la ville eut été repeuplée et rebatie et eut regagné une partie au moins de sa prospérité antérieure. C'est ce qui peut à peine avoir eu lieu, soit sous Straton II., qui fut détrôné en 332, soit à la fin du règne de son prédécesseur dont le nom est inconnu.[117] En tout cas il est peu probable qu'il a été fait de grandes émissions

[115] Hieron., "Adv. Jovinian.," i. 45.

[116] Diodor., xvi. 45 : τῆς πόλεως ὅλης μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφανισθείσης.

[117] M. Movers, "Phoen.," ii. 3, p. 211, et M. Levy, "Phoen. Stud.," i. p. 41 *sq.*, placent à cette époque Esmunazar II., dont le règne a duré 14 ans, 350—337, ce qui laisserait pour le règne de Straton II. les cinq années entre 337 et 332.

de numéraire à Sidon entre 350 et 333 et c'est ce qui doit engager à rechercher si, parmi les monnaies qui restent à décrire, il n'y en auraient pas qui doivent être reportées après la fin de l'empire des Perses. D'autant plus, qu'Alexandre dota non seulement richement Abdalonyme en lui donnant la couronne, mais aggrandit encore notablement le territoire de Sidon.[118] Cette munificence a dû rendre à Sidon son ancien rang parmi les villes de la Phénicie.

IV.

1. Galère du type plus récent avec ses rameurs, au dessus des vagues de la mer. Dessus des chiffres de 1 à 13.

Rev.—Un roi coiffé de la tiare simple debout dans un char à g. tiré par des chevaux au pas et conduit par un aurige. Derrière le char marche un personnage en costume asiatique. A gauche dans le champ les lettres עב,[119] עע ou תצ.

Æ. . 25^{95}—25^{20}. Brandis, p. 425, série 2 à 4.

? et palme . Rx. עב. Æ. 8 . . . Mus. Lavy, T. I. n. 3198.

| et astre . . Rx. עע. Æ. 6 25^{75}, 25^{65}. Mus. de Berlin, v. Prokesch, "Ined." i. 1854, p. 61.

Ce serait alors Esmunazar I. qui aurait assisté à la bataille de Cnide. Straton I. aurait été son fils aîné et sa fille Emastoreth, veuve de Tebennit (Tennès) serait restée reine après le désastre de 351 et se serait adjoint comme roi d'abord son fils Esmunazar II., puis, à la mort de ce fils en 337, Straton II., qui d'après son nom était peut-être le petit-fils (fils de fille) de Straton I.

[118] Curt., iv. 1. Inde ad Sidona ventum est—regnabat in ea Strato Darii opibus adjutus.—Itaque (Abdalonymo regi salutato) non Stratonis modo regiam et supellectilem attribui ei jussit sed pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda. Regionem quoque urbi adpositam ditioni eius adjecit.

[119] Ꟁ sur quelques exemplaires, Brandis, p. 426, n'est qu'un ב altéré par une inégalité accidentelle du champ. M. Friedländer, directeur du Musée de Berlin, à bien voulu m'en informer.

II et astre . . ℞. עע. Æ. 7 25^{68}=396^{3}. Cat. Whittall, 1858, n. 776, cp. Mus. Lavy, n. 3199.

I . . . . ℞. עע. Æ. 8 24^{54}. . Ma coll., traces de surfrappe.

III . . . . ℞. עע. Æ. 8 25^{75}. . Ma coll., surfrappé sur un exemplaire du n. II. 1. On distingue au droit les deux lions de l'ancien type.

II . . . ℞. תע. Æ. 8 25^{80}. . Ma coll.

I III . . . ℞. תע. Æ. 8 25^{87}. . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

2. Mêmes types et chiffres, mais sans le personnage derrière le char et avec les lettres עב seules.

Æ. . 6^{75}—6^{10} Brandis, p. 426.

Æ. . 3^{2}—3 . Ibid.

I III III . . . . . Æ. $2\frac{1}{2}$ 3^{03} . . Ma coll. Le roi ne porte pas de tiare et semble diadémé.

3. Même type et chiffres.

Rev.—Roi combattant un lion dressé devant lui. Dans le champ עב, עע ou תע. Le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1 0^{85}—0^{50}. Brandis, p. 425, 426, séries 2 à 4.

I et astre . . ℞. עע. Æ. 1 0^{60} . . Ma coll.

4. Types du n. 2.

Æ. 3 6^{7}—5 . Brandis, p. 549.

5. Même type et chiffres.

Rev.—Le roi courant à droite, dans la g. arc, dans la dr. haste.

Æ. $2\frac{1}{2}$ 3^{2}—2^{6}. Brandis, p. 549.

D. le ch. du ℞. BA. Contremarqué d'un astre au ℞. . . . Æ. $2\frac{1}{2}$ . . . Brit. Mus., "Num. Chron.," N.S. xiii., p. 323. La galère du droit se laisse reconnaître sur l'empreinte, dont M. B. V. Head m'a favorisé.

IIIII . . . . . Æ. 3 2^{07} . . Ma coll.

III III III . fruste . Æ. 2^{+} 2^{45} . . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Æ. 1 0^{65} . . Brandis, l.l.

6. Vexillum ?

Rev.—Même type.

Æ. 2 . . . Rois Grecs., Pl. LXVI. 11; Brandis, l.l.; "Num. Chron.," N.S. xiii., p. 323.

7. Tête à droite d'un roi barbu et coiffé de la tiare, devant ט.

Rev.—Hercule à droite, combattant le lion dressé devant lui. Dans le champ, מי.[120]

Æ. 1 0^{52} . . . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer; "Choix," Pl. VII. n. 230.

8. Tête à droite barbue d'un roi avec tiare simple.

Rev.—Même galère.

Au dessus de la galère

Æ. 3 . . Brit. Mus.; Catal. Huber, n. 899.

Æ. 3 3^{30} . Brandis, p. 549; Mion., S. viii. Pl. XIX. 7; Rois Grecs, Pl. LXVI. 9, v. Prokesch, "Ined." ii., 1859, Pl. III. 56.

9. Mêmes types. Le roi ne semble pas porter de tiare.

Æ. 3 3^{10} . Brandis, l.l. Rois Grecs, Pl. LXVI. 10.

10. Types du n. 1. Au droit ע soit seul, soit avec les chiffres 1, 2, 10, 20, et 21. Au revers מזרי sur les exemplaires de l'an 20. Sur les autres מזרז ?

An 10. Æ. 8 25^{78} . . Brit. Mus.

An 20. Æ. 8 25^{80} . . Mion., Pl. LXI. 1; Rois Grecs, Pl. LXVI. 1; Brandis, p. 426.

An 20. Æ. 7 . . . . Mus. de Berlin. Bon style.

An 21. Æ. 8 25^{73} . . Brit. Mus.

An 21. Æ. 8 25^{70} . . Brandis, l.l.

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[120] Non loin de Tyr il y a un village nommé Taibeh.

An ? Æ. 7 25^{60} . . Ma coll. Surfrappé. On distingue au droit les traces de la galère du type antérieur. De mauvais style.

An 1. Sans légende. Æ. 7 25^{72} . . Brit. Mus. De même style.

An 1. Sans légende. Æ. 8 25^{57} . . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer. De même style.

An 1. Æ. 8 26 . . Brandis, l.l.

An 2. Æ. 8 25^{83}, 25^{79}. Brandis, l.l.

Sans date. Æ. 7 25^{65} . . Brit. Mus. De même style.

11. Même type de la galère, dessus chiffres.

Rev.—Roi combattant un lion. Dans le champ מז. Le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1 0^{75}—0^{65}. Brandis, p. 426.

Au droit 𐤉𐤉𐤉 𐤉𐤉𐤉 𐤉𐤉𐤉 (19). Æ. 1 0^{73} . . Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Dans cette quatrième classe la galère a la forme plus récente, ce qui est peut-être dû à l'influence de Tyr, qui du reste se manifeste dans l'affaiblissement du poids des doubles statères, qui par là sont mis en harmonie avec les espèces tyriennes. En outre la tiare du roi n'est plus crénelée, mais simple comme celle de Jehawmalek sur la stèle de Gébal. Parfois elle manque tout à fait. Faut-il en conclure que l'empire des Perses a pris fin et que, comme le poids semble l'exiger, toutes ces pièces ont été émises après 333? J'inclinerais à le croire sans affirmer pour cela, que parmi les monnaies de ce genre il n'y en aurait pas qui conviendraient à Straton II. ou à son prédécesseur.[121] Mais les monnaies datées forment avec les statères datés de Tyr une série trop bien cohérente pour

[121] Entr'autres celles sur lesquelles le roi se trouverait porter la tiare crénelée.

proposer de les en séparer. C'est ce qui se voit sans peine dans le tableau suivant (pages 214, 215).

Les monnaies de Sidon vont de l'an 1, 332, à l'an 13, 320, et cessent lorsque Ptolémée, le satrape de l'Egypte, se fut rendu maître de la Phénicie.[122] Elles recommencent l'an 19, 314, quand Antigone eut fait évacuer Sidon par la garnison égyptienne et continuent l'an 20 et 21, malgré la réapparition momentanée de l'armée de Ptolémée. En 311 les dates cessent, c'est l'année de la mort d'Alexandre Aegus, mais en 310 et 309 l'an 1 et l'an 2 sont marqués et en même temps les statères de Tyr recommencent et avec eux les statères d'or d'Acé, de Sidon et d'Aradus. Sidon alors abandonne aussi les anciens types et fait pendant plusieurs années des émissions de tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre, que M. Mueller a rangé dans sa III^{me} et IV^{me} classe,[123] et sur lesquels on retrouve les deux symboles, la palme et l'étoile, que nous avons déjà rencontrés sur les doubles statères, n. IV. 1.

Parmi les tétradrachmes de Seleucus I., il semble y en avoir, qui sont marqués des initiales de Sidon.[124]

Après 274 les statères de Ptolémée II. Philadelphe furent frappés à Sidon comme à Tyr et le titre de Soter s'y trouve aussi depuis l'an 25, 261, jusqu'à la sixième (ou huitième?) année d'Euergète. Alors Sidon reprend la fabrication des tétradrachmes d'Alexandre de la V^{me} classe de M. Mueller, en même temps qu'Aradus, Marathus et Tyr.[125] Plus tard les initiales de Sidon apparaissent parfois sur les monnaies des rois d'Egypte, par

[122] L'histoire de ces temps a été racontée dans tous ses détails par M. Droysen, "Geschichte des Hellenismus," vol. i.
[123] Mueller, "Alexandre," n. 1397—1418.
[124] De Luynes, "Choix," Pl. XVII. 5.
[125] Mueller, l.l., n. 1419—1422.

		Sidon.		
		Double statère.	½-statère.	Drachme.
332.	Alexandre.	I עב. 25^{77}. תע. 25^{75}. עע. 25^{70}. id. et astre. 25^{75}.		עב 3^{18}.
331.		II עב. 25^{80}. תע. 25^{80}. עע. 25^{75}. id. et astre. 25^{68}.		
330.		III עב. 25^{70}. תע. 25^{90}. עע. 25^{95}. id. et astre 25^{97}.	עב 6^{20}.	
329.		IIII עב. 25^{20}. תע. 25^{87}.		
328.		II III		
327.		III III		עב 3^{175}.
326.		I III III עב. 25^{85}		id. 3^{045}.
325.		II III III	עב 6^{35}.	id. 3^{06}.
324.		III III III		
323.	Mort d'Alex.	— מזרי. ב 25^{78}.		עב 3^{24}.
322.		I—		
321.		II—		
320.	Ptolémée prend la Phénicie.	III—		
319.				
318.				
317.				
316.				
315.				
314.	Antigone.	III III III—		
313.		מזרי. ב. 25^{80}		
312.	Ptolémée.	I ,, ,, 25^{73}.		
311.	Antigone.	,, ,, 25^{65}.		
310.		I ,, ,, 26^{0}.	Statères d'or d'Alexandre avec palme à Sidon.	
309.		II ,, ,, 25^{83}.		
308.	Trésor de statères d'or enfoui à Sidon. Tétradr. d'Alexandre, cl. III.			
307.				
306.				
305.				
304.				
303.				
302.	Ptolémée en Phénicie.			
301.	Seleucus la reprend. Tétradr. d'Alexandre, cl. IV.			
300.				
299.				
298.				
297.				
296.				
295.				
294.				
293.				
287.				

	Tyr.		Acé.		Aradus.	
½-drachme, Æ.	An.	Statère.	*N*	*R*.	*N*.	*R*.
	1					
	—					
	—					
עע, astre 0^{60}	—					
עב, 0^{65}	2	II צ 8^{7}				
	—	II ט 8^{7}				
	—					
	—					
עב, 0^{85}	3	III צ 8^{85}				
	—	III ס, א 8^{85}				
Æ. 3^{2}	—					
	—					
	4					
	—					
עב, 0^{75} Æ. 3^{2}	5			II III	Cl. II.	
Æ. ?	6			III III		
	7					
	8					
usé Æ. 2^{15}	9			III III III		
	10			—		
Æ. ?	11			⌐		
Æ. 3^{3}	12					
עב 0^{65}	13					
תע 0^{77}	—					
	14			IIII∧		
	15					
	16					
	17					
	18					
מז 0^{70}	19					
	20			=		
	21			⌐=		
	22			II=	Cl. III.	
	23	IIIO 8^{6}	III=		עמא	
	24	IIIIO 8^{25}, 9^{26}	IIII=	IIII=		
	25		II III=	II III=		
	26	III III= Æ.	III III=	III III=		
	27			IIII III=		
	28	IIII IIIIO 8^{80}		II III III=		
	29	II III IIIIO 9^{14}		III III III=		
	30	∩O 8^{75}	∩O	—=		
	31			⌐⌐=		
	32	II∩O 8^{30}		II⌐=		
	33	III∩O 8^{80}	III∩O	III⌐=		
	34	IIII∩O 8^{65}	IIII⌐=	IIII⌐=	Cl. IV.	
	35	II III∩O 8^{80}		II III⌐=		
	36		III III⌐=	III III⌐=		
	37	III IIII∩O 8^{50}		IIII III⌐=		
	38			II III III⌐=		
	39					
	40		==	==		
	46		III III==	III III NN		

exemple sur un statère de Ptolémée V. Epiphane, 204—181,[126] et sur un autre frappé pendant que Ptolémée VI. Philométor était sous la tutelle de sa mère Cléopâtre I., 181—174.[127]

Les monnaies des rois de Syrie sorties de l'atelier de Sidon, commencent comme à Tyr, par des bronzes sous Antiochus IV., 176—164 et Démétrius I., 162—151. Puis les statères d'argent et les tétradrachmes suivent depuis 151 (161 Seleuc.) sous Alexandre I. Bala, Démétrius II., Antiochus VII., Cléopâtre et Antiochus VIII. jusque sous Antiochus IX.

En 111 commence l'ère d'autonomie de Sidon et bien que les statères et hémistatères qui furent frappés depuis lors[128] et qui ont conservé, comme le fit Tyr, l'aigle des Lagides, soient beaucoup plus rares que ceux de Tyr, ils ont pourtant duré fort longtemps. On en trouve avec les dates 5, 6 (107, 106), puis après une lacune de quarante ans, avec 46, 50, 58, 71, 80 à 82, 103, 106, 129 et 154 (66 av.—43 apr. J.-C.). Les premiers n'ont d'autre légende que **ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ.** Depuis 46 on lit **ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ** ou **ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ.** Quand est-ce que Sidon a adopté ces titres? Sur les monnaies d'Alexandre Bala, de Démétrius II. et d'Antiochus VII. on ne lit que le seul nom de la ville, mais en 121 (191 Seleuc.) sous Cléopâtre et Antiochus VIII. commence l'addition des titres, **ΣΙΔΩ . ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ.** Et il n'est pas

[126] Coll. de l'Université de Leide.

[127] Coll. Wigan; R. St. Poole, "Num. Chron.," N.S., vi. p. 4; Mion., vi., n. 301; "Rois Grecs," Pl. LXXXVIII. 14; Catal. Torelli, n. 1194.

[128] Eckhel, D. N. V., iii. p. 367. L'aigle tient la palme, l'ancien symbole de Sidon, et la déesse porte sur la tête un mur crénelé munie de hautes tours, tout pareil à celui des doubles statères.

probable que Sidon ait abandonné sur ses monnaies autonomes les titres qu'elle avait portés sur les monnaies royales. Cette considération pourrait faire supposer que les statères autonomes ne commencent pas en 111 et que la lacune de 40 ans signalée plus haut est occasionnée par les émissions des rois de Syrie depuis 151 jusqu'en 114 environ. Dans ce cas l'ère à laquelle se rapporteraient les dates, aurait commencé sous Démétrius I. en 158 ou en 157 et les statères des années 5 et 6 dateraient de 154 et de 153, ou de 153 et de 152, celui de l'an 46 de 113 ou 112, et le dernier hémistatère de l'an 154 tomberait en 5 ou 4 sous Auguste, et non en 43 sous l'empereur Claude.

Ce n'est pas que je veuille défendre cette hypothèse, qui n'est pas admissible, puisque le statère de l'an 6 (106) au British Museum est du même style que les statères de Tyr de la même époque. Mais il est bon de constater qu'il ne peut être question de faire commencer avec M. Reichardt[129] l'ére des statères autonomes en 247, l'an de l'accession de Ptolémée III. et alors que le nom de Sidon apparaît régulièrement chaque année sur les statères des rois d'Egypte.

Pour revenir aux doubles statères de ma quatrième classe, les surfrappes, qui s'y laissent constater, s'expliquent facilement par la diminution du poids, qui de son côté permettait de mettre ces monnaies dans un rapport exact avec les tétradrachmes d'Alexandre. En effet deux doubles statères de 26 grammes sont égaux en poids à trois tétradrachmes de $17\frac{1}{3}$ grammes.

Parmi les bronzes de divers modules, qui par leurs dates appartiennent à cette classe, à laquelle leurs poids corre-

[129] "Die Æra der autonomen Münzen Sidons," Numism. Zeitschr., Wien, 1869, i. p. 381 *sq.*

spond, il y en a une, n. IV. 5, qui montre derrière le roi les lettres grecques **BA**, ce qui convient encore parfaitement à l'époque d'Alexandre et permet de hasarder une conjecture sur le nom du roi, dont la tête apparaît directement après la mort d'Alexandre sur les bronzes des années 11 et 12, 322 et 321, n. IV. 8 et 9. Ce vieillard à longue barbe ne serait-il pas le vieil Abdalonyme, appelé en 332 par Alexandre à remplacer Straton, auquel on reprochait son trop grand attachement au roi de Perse? Faudrait-il voir en outre dans les lettres עב, que portent les différentes espèces depuis la première jusqu'à la treizième année, les initiales de ce même Abdalonyme עבדאלנם? Il serait peu prudent de proposer une attribution de ce genre sans pouvoir en même temps donner une explication satisfaisante des lettres תע et עע. Tout ce qu'il est permis de rappeler à ce sujet, c'est que le territoire de Sidon avait été fort aggrandi par Alexandre et que beaucoup de noms phéniciens de ce temps commencent par un ע. Outre Abdalonyme de Sidon et Azemilkos עזמלך de Tyr, il y avait à Byblus Enylus עינאל et à Aradus Straton עשתריתן le fils du roi Gerostrate. Donc ces lettres עע et תע pourraient désigner les dynastes des quatres villes sécondaires, qui auraient pris part aux émissions faites par la métropole pour toute la Phénicie. Ainsi s'expliquerait aussi pourquoi les statères de Tyr après une émission passagère pendant les années 2 et 3, ne commencent que vers le temps où finit la suite de Sidon.

Avec la 10^{me} année, en 323, commence l'inscription מזרי avec un ב (ou un נ?) au droit, qui, avec une lacune de neuf ans, continue jusqu'en 309, si j'ai bien fait de ranger, d'après le style, les années 1 et 2[130] après 20

[130] Ces deux dates 1 et 2 appartiennent-elles à l'ère des Seleucides, qui commença en automne 312?

et 21. Ce sont ces lettres de forme plutôt araméenne que phénicienne, qui ont engagé M. Brandis à classer toutes les séries à une ville syrienne. Mais dans le facsimile de l'inscription de Jehawmalek, dessiné par M. J. Euting,[131] on trouve à côté de lettres du type phénicien ordinaire, quelques lettres parfaitement semblables à celle de la légende en question. J'ai en vue surtout le ב du mot רבת à la 2me et du mot גבל à la 3me ligne et le ר de רבתי à la fin de la 7me ligne. Il s'en suit que ces lettres seules ne sont pas une preuve que ces monnaies ont été frappées hors de la Phénicie.

Quand au mot מזרי, il n'a pas encore été expliqué.[132] C'est ce qui me fait hasarder une hypothèse, à laquelle je n'attache du reste aucune valeur. En supposant qu'un נ ait été élidé, comme dans שת pour שנת, on obtient מנזרי et ce mot trouve son analogie dans le mot hébreu מְנַזְּרִים qui se lit dans le prophète Nahum, 3, 17 et qu'on traduit par princes en le prenant pour équivalent de נְזִירִים, qui est souvent employé dans la même signification. Le mot מ(נ)זרי indiquerait alors, que le règne des rois avait pris fin à Sidon, quand Ptolémée s'en rendit maître et que le gouvernement était dévolu à des personnages d'un rang moins élevé. Qui étaient ces princes? A ce sujet il faut se rappeler que le même mot se lit sur les statères de Tarse depuis le commencement du quatrième siècle jusque sous Alexandre et après la fin de l'empire des Perses sur les premiers tétradrachmes attiques au lion.[133] Là encore la signification de (monnaie) princière convient

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[131] "Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.," xxx., 1876, p. 132—137.

[132] W. H. Waddington, "Revue Numism.," 1860, p. 450.

[133] De Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. III., V., VIII., X.

parfaitement. Diodore mentionne en 351[134] un Mazacos qu'il qualifie du titre ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχων. Ce mot ἄρχων est peut-être la traduction du mot sémitique impliqué par le מזרי des monnaies. On pourrait aussi songer au grand-prêtre d'Hercule à Tarse[135] et à celui d'Astarté à Sidon, qui comme celui de Melkart à Tyr et ceux d'Emésa, de Comana et d'Hierapolis portaient la pourpre et les insignes de la royauté, n'étaient seconds qu'au roi et prenaient les rênes du gouvernement quand le trône était vacant.[136] Les prêtres d'Olba en Cilicie étaient revêtus en même temps d'un pouvoir temporel.[137] Ils se disent sur leurs monnaies **ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟΥ ΟΛΒΕΩΝ**, etc., et **ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ**, etc.[138] Il en était peut-être de même à Tarse et à Sidon sous Antigone.

Quoiqu'il en soit, le mot מזרי doit avoir une signification générale qui convienne à son emploi tant en Cilicie qu'en Phénicie avant et après Alexandre, sous les Perses et du temps des Grecs.

Outre les monnaies des villes de la Phénicie, qui viennent d'être énumérées, il y en a d'autres, qui, d'après le poids et les types, constituent une classe à part. J'en fais suivre la liste[139] en guise de supplément aux observa-

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[134] Diodor., xvi. 42.

[135] Athen., "Deipn.," v. 54.

[136] Movers, "Phœn.," ii. 1, p. 543 *sq.*

[137] Strabo, xiv. 5, 10. Ὄλβη πόλις, Διὸς ἱερὸν ἔχουσα—καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς δυνάστης ἐγένετο τῆς Τραχειώτιδος. Cp. les titres de Simon Macchabée—ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ιουδαίων.

[138] W. H. Waddington, "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 429 *sq.*

[139] Si cette liste est plus complète que celle de M. Brandis, p. 516, c'est grâce aux empreintes que MM. Feuardent, Imhoof-Blumer, et Friedlaender ont eu la bonté de m'envoyer. Aussi je profite de cette occasion pour leur en exprimer toute ma reconnaissance.

tions précédentes, parce que ces monnaies sont, en partie du moins, plus anciennes que celles de la Phénicie et qu'en nous faisant connaître quelques-unes des émissions, qui eurent lieu pendant le cinquième siècle, elles servent à compléter la numismatique de la cinquième satrapie.

PALESTINE.

GAZA ET VILLES VOISINES.

1. Double tête diadémée, celle de gauche barbue, celle de droite imberbe, avec boucle d'oreille. Beau style archaïque, les yeux de face.

   Rev.—Creux informe profond. Au fond chouette à droite, devant épi, עזה (עזה).

   Æ. 3+ $64^{2} = 4^{16}$. Catal. Whittall, 1858, n. 245; ma collection.

   Æ. 3+ $62^{4} = 4^{01}$. Catal. Whittall, 1858, n. 245; ma collection.

   Æ. 3+ $59^{6} = 3^{86}$. Catal. Whittall, 1858, n. 246.

   Æ. 3+ $57 = 3^{69}$. Catal. Whittall, 1858, n. 246.

2. Autre, la chouette de face.

   Æ. 3¼ $55^{8} = 3^{615}$. Catal. Whittall, n. 246.

3. Même tête.

   Rev.—Sans type.

   Æ. 3¼ . . . 3^{87}. Mus. de Turin; Brandis, p. 516.

4. Même tête.

   Rev.—Même chouette, de style un peu plus récent, à dr. devant une haute muraille crénelée flanquée de deux tours. Le tout dans un creux profond.

   Æ. 3 . . . 4^{20}. Brit. Mus.

5. Même tête.

   Rev.—Chouette de face encadrée par deux rameaux d'olivier réunis par les tiges, comme sur les trioboles d'Athènes. Champ concave.

Æ. 3 $62^{7} = 4^{06}$. Brit. Mus.; Leake, p. 24, sous Athènes.
Æ. 3 $60^{6} = 3^{93}$. C. Whittall, n. 247.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{82}. Mus. de Turin; Brandis, p. 516.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{75}. Coll. de l'Université de Leide.
Æ. 3½ . . . 3^{56}. Ma coll.
Æ. 3½ $65 = 3^{45}$. Mus. de Berlin, v. Prokesch, "Ined." ii., 1859, Pl. II. 35.
Æ. 3½ . . . 3^{36}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{27}. Même coll.
Æ. 2 $49 = 3^{175}$. C. Whittall, n. 247.

6. Même ? tête.

Rev.—T. casquée de Pallas à dr., AΘE, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 4 $56^{75} = 3^{67}$. Cat. Hunter, p. 58, Pl. X. 26; Mion., S. iii., p. 537, n. 5.
Æ. 4 $48 = 3^{11}$. Cat. Hunter, p. 58.
Æ. 1† . . . 1^{08}. Brit. Mus.; Leake, p. 25; Mus. P. Knight, p. 35.
Æ. 1† . . . 0^{98}. Beulé, "Monn. d'Athènes," p. 52 vign.

7. Tête de Pallas casquée à dr., l'œuil de face. Copie barbare d'une monnaie d'Athènes.

Rev.—Même double tête dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1 . . . 0^{57}. C. Whittall, n. 765; ma coll.

8. Même double tête, de bon style.

Rev.—Protôme de cheval bondissant. Au dessus O(ע). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. ¾ . . . 0^{82}, 0^{62}, 0^{57}, 0^{52}. C. Whittall, n. 765, 766; ma coll.
Æ. ¾ . . . 0^{7}, 0^{6}, 0^{5}. Musée de Turin; Brandis, p. 516.

9. Tête barbue à dr., l'œuil de face.

Rev.—Même revers, dessus ⲰO (עז).

Æ. 3 $64^{4} = 4^{17}$. Cat. Huber, n. 903.
Æ. 2½ . . . 4^{05}. Ma coll.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{90}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

Æ. 2 $56^4 = 3^{65}$. C. Whittall, n. 762.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{55}. Ma coll.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{55}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 3½ $65 = 3^{45}$. Mus. de Berlin, v. Prokesch-Osten, "Ined." ii., 1859, Pl. II.

10. Tête de femme à dr., dans le genre de celle du tétradr. de Syracuse, Num. Chr., N.S. xiv., Pl. II. 8.

Rev.—Même revers.

Æ. 2½ . . . 3^{94}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 1 . . . 0^{82}. Même coll.

11. Tête semblable.

Rev.—Haute muraille crénelée, munie de trois tours et située sur un monticule, devant lequel est un lion? à dr. Derrière la muraille deux hauts palmiers. Le tout dans un carré creux profond.

Æ. 3½ . . . 3^{36}. Coll. de l'Université de Leide.
Æ. 3½ . . . 3^{35}. Brit. Mus.; Brandis, p. 426.
Æ. 1 . . . 0^{60}. C. Whittall, n. 763; ma coll.
Æ. 1 . . . 0^{58}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer; "Choix de Monn. Gr.," Pl. VII. n. 239.

12. Tête de Pallas casquée à dr.

Rev.—Chouette de face, à g. et à dr. pousse d'olivier, ע (עז). Le tout dans un carré creux profond. Copie d'un décadrachme d'Athènes.

Æ. $6^{-}265 = 17^{17}$. Leake, Suppl., p. 115, sous Athènes.
Æ. 6.5 . . 16^{80}. Beulé, "Monn. d'Athènes," p. 44 vign.
Æ. 7 . . . . . Cat. Dupré, n. 225.

13. Tête semblable de style plus récent.

Rev.—Chouette à dr., à g. pousse d'olivier et croissant. A dr. ב(ז)ΑΘΕ. Copie d'un tétradrachme d'Athènes.

Æ. 6 . . . 17. Beulé, p. 44 vign.; Cat. Rollin et Feuardent, n. 3519. Cat. H. de la Salle, n. 363. Ma coll.

14. Même tête.

Rev.—Même type, à g. pousse d'olivier et croissant, à dr. מדין (מדין, Midian?), croissant et foudre?

Æ. 6 . . . . . Coll. de Luynes; Beulé, p. 45 vign.; Blau, "Wien. Num. Zeitschr.," iv., 1872, p. 183 vign. M. Blau lit סרגן.

Autre, à dr. même légende, à g. trois lettres phén. Coll. Frœhner à Paris.

15. Même tête.

Rev.—Même revers, à dr. ΔΘΕ ou 𐤇Θ▽, 𐤁𐤋𐤁𐤋𐤈 (לבלט).

Æ. 3 . . . . . Brit. Mus.; Beulé, p. 45 vign.; Levy, "Wien. Num. Zeitschr.," iii., 1871, p. 433.

Æ. 3 . . . 3⁸⁰. Coll. de Vogüé; Brandis, p. 516 lit לבלב.

16. Même tête, de style plus récent.

Rev.—Même revers, à dr. 𐤀 Θ Ε, le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 3 . . . 3⁸⁰. Ma coll.

16bis. Même tête, de style plus barbare.

Rev.—Même revers, ΑΘΕ.

Æ. 3 . . . 3⁵⁵. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

17. Même tête.

Rev.—Même type, à g. pousse d'olivier, deux croissants et Ǝ, à dr. 𐤋𐤎𐤌𐤔 (לסמש).

Æ. 5 . . . 17⁰³. Mus. de Berlin; Beulé, p. 44 vign.; v. Prokesch, "Ined." i., 1854, p. 30, Pl. III., 77.

18. Même tête.

Rev.—Même type. A g. pousse d'olivier et croissant, à dr. 𐤆𐤆𐤉𐤆 (מזרי) et symbole inconnu. Flan très-épais. Les bords coupés droit comme ceux du double statère de ma coll. avec la même légende.

Æ. 6–5 . . 16⁹⁵. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer; "Choix," Pl. V., n. 177.

19. Même tête.

Rev.—Chouette de face, à g. pousse d'olivier et croissant. Flan très-épais, comme celui des tétradrachmes de Tarse après Alexandre.

Æ. 4 . . . 17^{20}. Beulé, p. 44 vign.; Cat. Behr., p. 38, n. 203.

20. Tête de Pallas casquée à dr.

Rev.—Chouette de face entre deux branches d'olivier, dans un carré creux.

Θ E Æ. 1 9 = 0^{50}. Schledehaus, Grote, "Münzst," ii., 1862, p. 485, pl. 31, 6.
Θ E Æ. 1 8½ = 0^{45}. Ibid., pl. 31, 6.
Θ ⊓ Æ. ½ 2 = 0^{10}. Ibid., p. 486, pl. 31, 7.
⊓ Θ Æ. ½ 2 = 0^{10}. Ibid., pl. 31, 8.

21. Tétradrachme d'Athènes. Sur la joue de Pallas la contremarque 𐤆𐤆 (מלך עזז ?)

Æ. 6 . . . 17^{07}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

22. Tête de face coiffée d'une couronne murale ou d'un casque lauré et ceinte sur le front d'une couronne d'olivier.

Rev.—Chouette à dr., à g. pousse d'olivier; à dr. grande amphore avec couvercle posée dans un trépied. Le tout dans un carré creux. Beau style.

Æ. 1½ 7^{6} = 0^{406}. Cat. Huber, n. 952; "Wien. Numism. Monatsch.," iii., 1867, p. 15; ma coll.
Æ. 1½ 7 = 0^{37}. Grote, "Münzst," ii., 1862, p. 489, pl. 31, 9.

23. Tête à dr. avec couronne murale.

Rev.—Même revers ?

Æ. 1½ 7 = 0^{37}. Ibid., p. 490, pl. 31, 11.

24. Même tête.

Rev.—Même revers.

Æ. ½ 4 = 0^{21}. Ibid., pl. 31, 10.
Comparez Æ. ¾ 3 = 0^{194}. Cat. Huber, n. 908; "Wien. Num. Monatsch.," ii., 1866, p. 206, 9.

24bis. Tête à dr. d'Hercule couvert de la peau de lion.

Rev.—ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Jupiter Aétophore assis à gauche. Sous le siége K ? I, devant grande amphore posée dans un trépied.

Æ. 1 . . 0^{65}. Ma coll.

25. Tête casquée de Pallas à dr., grand œuil de face.

Rev.—Chouette à dr., à g. pousse d'olivier croissant et 𐤑 (א), à dr. 𐤀𐤈𐤄, le tout dans un carré creux profond.

Æ. 3 . . . 3^{66}. Mus. de Berlin.

26. Tête de femme à dr. ceinte d'un lien, les cheveux pendants et noués au bout, boucle d'oreille, œuil de face.

Rev.—Chouette de face les ailes éployées, dessus 𐤑𐤊 (אכ) et dauphin à g. Le tout dans un carré creux irrégulier.

Æ. 3 . . . . 4^{12}. Coll. de Luynes; Brandis, p. 516 (mal décrit).
Æ. 3 $63^{5} = 4^{115}$. C. Whittall, n. 247.
Æ. 3 . . . . 3^{95}. Coll. de Vogüé; Brandis, l.l., lit 𐤌𐤊.
Coulé. Æ. 4 72 = 3^{82}. Mus. de Berlin; v. Prokesch, "Ined." ii., Pl. II., n. 34; "Berlin. Blaetter," ii. p. 276, 15, Pl. XXII. 16.
Æ. 4 59 = 3^{82}. C. Huber, n. 905; "Wien. Num. Monatsch.," ii., 1866, p. 205.
Fruste. Æ. 3 $58^{7} = 3^{80}$. C. Whittall, n. 248; ma coll.
Æ. 3 . . . . 3^{80}. Mus. de Turin; Brandis, l.l.
Æ. 3 58 = 3^{76}. Coll. Wigan.

27. Même tête.

Rev.—Même type, à g. 𐤑 (אכ?) dans un carré creux bordé d'une espèce de méandre très-irrégulier.

Æ. 1 . . . 0^{65}. Bibl. du roi à Turin.
Comparez Æ. 1 . . . 0^{80}. Coll. de Vogüé; Brandis, p. 516.

28. Même tête.

Rev.—Chouette à dr. entre les lettres 𐤃 𐤓 (אכ retrograde) devant épi ou palme et pousse d'olivier, le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 3, fruste, trouée, 3^{80}. Mus. national de Pest.
Æ. 3 . . . 3^{70}. Mus. de Vienne; Eckhel, "Mus. Caes. Vindob.," i. p. 289, Pl. VI. 9.

29. Même tête. Grand œuil de face.

Rev.—Même type, de style barbare. Derrière pousse d'olivier, devant 𐤆𐤆 (חזע). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Fruste. Æ. 2½ $47^{7} = 3^{09}$. Cat. Whittall, n. 248; ma coll.

30. Même tête.

Rev.—Tête barbue à dr., l'œuil de face, les cheveux exprimés par des globules, derrière 𐤀 (א à rebours). Le tout dans un carré creux profond.

Æ. 3 . . . 4^{10}. Musée de Berlin.

31. Même tête.

Rev.—Tête barbue à g., sans lettre apparente, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 3 . . . 3^{83}. Ma coll. Surfrappé, à ce qu'il semble, sur un exemplaire du n. 1.

32. Même tête.

Rev.—Tête de Pallas, avec le casque athénien, à dr., adossée à la tête incuse d'une divinité barbue à g. et portant la tiare crénelée ornée de cornes de taureau (?). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Troué. Æ. 3 . . . 3^{48}. Ma coll.

33. Tête de Pallas à dr. avec le casque athénien.

Rev.—La tête de femme du droit des monnaies précédentes. Dessus ΞΘΑ, dessous ∠ O (עז?). Le tout dans un carré creux.

Æ. 2 $32 = 2^{073}$. Cat. Hunter, p. 58, Pl. X. 27; Beulé, l.l., p. 52; Mionn., S. iii., p. 536, n. 4.

34. Même tête.

Rev.—Même type à g., devant ΛΟΕ, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1½ $41 = 2^{18}$. V. Prokesch-Osten, "Ined.," i., 1854, p. 26, Pl. II. 65.

35. Tête de femme à g., les cheveux relevés et retombant en touffe par dessus le lien qui entoure la tête.

Rev.—Chouette à g. Devant double croissant, derrière T Λ. Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. $\frac{3}{4}$ . . . 0^{73}. Mus. de Munich.

36. Tête casquée de Pallas à dr., semblable à celle du n. 32.

Rev.—Tête barbue de face de bouc ? coiffée d'une tiare dans un carré creux.

Æ. 1$\frac{1}{2}$ 12 = 0^{64}. Schledehaus, Grote, "Münzst," ii., p. 485.
Æ. 1 9$\frac{1}{2}$ = 0^{50}. Ibid., Pl. XXXI., n. 1.
Æ. 1 8^{5} = 0^{45}. Ibid., Pl. XXXI., n. 2.
Æ. 1 7 = 0^{37}. Ibid.
Æ. 1 5 = 0^{26}. Ibid., Pl. XXXI., n. 3.
Æ. $\frac{1}{2}$ 2$\frac{1}{2}$ = 0^{13}. Ibid., Pl. XXXI., n. 4.
Æ. $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 = 0^{11}. Ibid., Pl. XXXI., n. 5.

37. Tête de femme avec pendants d'oreille et collier, de face, les cheveux épars, semblable à celle des statères de Pharnabaze et de Datame.

Rev.—Tête barbue de face, avec oreilles et cornes de bouc, coiffée de la tiare.

Æ. 1 . . . 0^{63}. Musée de Berlin.

38. Tête imberbe à dr., grand œuil de face.

Rev.—Buste barbu de face, la main gauche levée. Sur la tête ornement composé de cinq plumes entre deux têtes d'aigles.

Æ. 2$\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . . Coll. de Luynes; "Choix," Pl. XII. 3; R. Rochette, "Hercule Assyrien," Pl. V. 5.
Æ. 3 49^{5} = 3^{21}. Cat. Huber, n. 908; "Wien. Numism. Monatsch.," ii., 1866, p. 206, 6.
Comparez Æ. 3 58 = 3^{76}. Cat. Huber, n. 907; "W.N.M.," l.l., p. 206, 5;

et *Æ*. 3 55 = 3^{56}. Cat. Huber, n. 906; "W.N.M.," l.l., p. 206, 4.

deux monnaies qui semblent appartenir à cette série, mais que je ne connais que par la description qu'en a donné M. Huber.

39. Même tête à dr. laurée.

Rev.—Lion couché à dr. au dessus d'un sanglier couché à dr. Dessus 9 (ב). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé d'un cordon.

Æ. 3 . . . 3^{57}. Coll. de Luynes. "Choix," Pl. XII. 2; "Satrap.," Pl. VI. 1; Brandis, p. 504.

40. Tête barbue à dr.

Rev.—Chameau? marchant à dr., sur son dos oiseau (épervier?) à dr. Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Très-fruste. *Æ*. 3 . . . 3^{47}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

41. Tête à dr., les cheveux longs et pendants, l'œuil de face.

Rev.—Arabe assis sur un chameau marchant à dr., les mains levées, dans la gauche un bâton. Devant Y. Le tout dans un carré creux irrégulier.

Æ. 2 . . . 3^{57}. Brit. Mus.

42. Tête barbue diadémée à g.

Rev.—Ancre accostée de deux oiseaux en regard. Dessous dauphin à dr. et 𐤋 (ל).

Æ. 2 . . . 3^{31}. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer.

43. Tête barbue à dr. coiffée d'un casque corinthien lauré.

Rev.—Divinité barbue, les jambes recouvertes du pallium, assis à dr. sur une roue ailée. Il tient de la gauche un épervier. Devant grande tête barbue à g. Dessus 𐤉𐤀𐤋 (יהו). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

Æ. 3 51 = 3^{30}. Combe, "Mus. Brit.," p. 242, 5, Pl. XIII. 12; De Luynes, "Satr.," p. 29, 1, Pl. IV. 4; Levy, "Phoen. Woerterb.," p. 21.

44. Protôme d'hippocampe à dr.

Rev.—Tête barbue à dr., la bouche ouverte, l'œuil rond, d'Eurytion. Dans un carré creux peu profond bordé de perles.

Æ. 3 . . . 3[10]. Coll. Imhoof-Blumer, "Choix," Pl. VII., n. 241. Surfrappé, peut-être sur un exemplaire du n. 2 ou du n. 25. On distingue le carré creux irrégulier et, à ce qu'il semble, le bas d'une chouette de face qui rend le profil moins facile à distinguer. Cependant l'identité de cette tête avec celle d'Eurytion, le gardien des troupeaux de Géryon, ne se laisse pas méconnaître, quand on examine le bas-relief de Golgos, "Revue Archæol.," 1872, xxiv., Pl. XXI., p. 223. Ce bas-relief, comme il est facile de s'en assurer en comparant l'Hercule avec celui des monnaies de Citium, date de l'époque d'Euagoras I., 410—374. C'est aussi la date probable de la monnaie.

La contrée dans laquelle ont été frappées toutes ces monnaies est déterminée par le nom de Gaza, עזה, inscrit sur le n. 1.

C'est le pays des anciens Philistins, dont au cinquième siècle Gaza était la capitale. A cette ville doivent être classées toutes les pièces n. 1—8, qui ont en commun le type de la double tête,[140] et la majeure partie des monnaies suivantes, quoique plusieurs soient anépigraphes et que sur d'autres le nom de Gaza ne soit pas exprimé d'une manière tout à fait indubitable. Sur le n. 29 on pourrait voir les chiffres 21 suivis d'un ה. Cependant la lecture הזע me semble préférable puisqu'un ain ouvert par en haut et un zain en forme de simple trait ne sont pas insolites. L'inscription est écrite de gauche à droite

[140] Bero us, "Fragm. ap. Syncell.," p. 28 B. Ἀνθρώπους—γεννηθῆναι—σῶμα μὲν ἔχοντας ἕν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν.

selon la coutume des Grecs, ce qui ne doit pas surprendre, puisque le poids, qui est l'attique, et les types copiés d'après des monnaies grecques, surtout athéniennes, enfin tout l'ensemble de ces pièces dénote que l'émission n'en a eu lieu que par l'influence et à l'instigation des Grecs et pour faciliter le commerce et les relations avec Athènes.

Ce qui m'engage à expliquer de la même manière les lettres des n. 9 et 10 et de les lire (ח) עז, c'est que la division au même type n. 7 montre que l'ain était l'initiale du mot.

Sur le n. 12 l'ain a la forme du théta grec, ce qui n'est pas sans exemple et sert sur ce tétradrachme à conserver autant que possible la ressemblance avec le tétradrachme attique dont il est l'imitation. Sur la monnaie suivante, n. 13, le Θ fait double emploi comme ain dans la légende sémitique et comme théta dans le nom d'Athènes. Enfin sur la drachme, n. 16, les deux lettres A Θ peuvent se lire ח (ז) ע aussi bien que 'A ϑ et donnent de cette manière un peu cachée, il est vrai, le nom du lieu d'émission.

Les tétradrachmes et la drachme, n. 14, 15, 17, 18 ont été compris dans la liste parce qu'il serait difficile de leur assigner une autre place tant que les légendes n'auront pas été expliquées.[141] Les n. 14 et 17 ont été contremarqués

[141] En cas que ces monnaies seraient ciliciennes, on pourrait voir dans la légende לסמש du n. 17 le nom de Samès, prince cilicien que M. W. H. Waddington a reconnu dans les lettres סם des statères de Tarse, "Revue Numism.," 1860, p. 452, et l'inscription לבלט du n. 15 serait, ainsi que M. le Professeur J. P. N. Land me l'a suggéré, le nom de la ville de Syrie, que les Grecs prononçaient Πάλτος, *v.* Steph. Byz., *s. v.*, mais qui, d'après le même auteur, *s. v.* Βάλδος (Anonym. Ravenn., ii., p. 88, Palthon; v. p. 357, Balton; Guido, p. 525, Valtum), semble avoir été Balt en syrien. Cependant comme les

par le même poinçon, qui a produit une entaille profonde en forme de feuille de trèfle. Ces deux tétradrachmes proviennent sans doute d'une même trouvaille. Au sujet de la légende מזרי du n. 18 j'ai hasardé plus haut une conjecture.

Pour trouver l'explication des lettres אנ et א qui caractérisent la série n. 25—30, il faut se souvenir que sur les statères frappés à Gaza sous les Ptolémées II. et III. le monogramme de Gaza est régulièrement accompagné d'un autre monogramme composé des lettres AN [142] qui ne peuvent guères désigner d'autre nom que celui d'Anthédon, ville située près de Gaza du côté de la mer.[143] M. L. Mueller en rencontrant un א isolé dans le champ d'un statère d'or d'Alexandre,[144] a proposé d'y voir l'initiale du nom d'Azotus, אַשְׁדּוֹד, mais puisque les monnaies n. 26—28 donnent אנ, il vaut mieux peut-être renoncer à l'attribution de M. Mueller et classer toutes ces pièces à Anthédon. Cette ville située plus près de la mer que Gaza peut fort bien lui avoir servi de port pour les relations avec l'Egypte.

Le type des drachmes n. 40 et 41 est un chameau, monté sur le seconde par un Arabe. Au droit la tête à longs cheveux semble être celle du roi des Arabes.[145] Quoique l'exécution en soit barbare, l'analogie avec les portraits

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monnaies ne montrent la préposition ל ajoutée aux noms de villes qu'à une époque postérieure, il vaut mieux peut-être voir dans בלט un nom d'homme, comp. סַנְבַלַּט, ou lire נבלט, nom de ville connu.

[142] "Num. Chron.," N.S. iv., Pl. VI. 9, 10.

[143] Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Πόλις *πλησίον* Γάζης *πρὸς τῷ παραλίῳ μέρει.*

[144] Mueller, "Alexandr.," n. 1471, comp. 1451.

[145] Diodor., xv. 2. Ἔπεμψε δ' *αὐτῷ* (Εὐαγόρᾳ) *καὶ ὁ τῶν* Ἀράβων *βασίλευς στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους.* C'était en 386.

des roi nabathéens[146] ne se laisse pas méconnaître. Or nous savons, par la description d'Hérodote,[147] que les places maritimes sur la côte entre Gaza et Jenysus, ville proche de Rhinocorura, étaient en possession des Arabes. C'était le seul endroit où le territoire qu'ils occupaient touchait à la mer Méditerranée.

La grande amphore[148] posée dans un trépied, sur les n. 22—24bis, fait souvenir de la station Ὀστρακίνη, située entre Rhinocorura et le mont Casius[149] et du récit d'Hérodote[150] que toutes les amphores à vin vides qu'on pouvait se procurer en Egypte, étaient recueillies annuellement et expédiées à ces plages arides proches de Jenysus. Quelques exemplaires des n. 22—24 ont été trouvés en Egypte dans un dépôt de petites monnaies qui ont tout l'air d'appartenir à une localité voisine. Ce sont les pièces décrites sous les n. 20 et 36. Les têtes de divinités, qui forment le type du revers des n. 36 à 38 sont si caractéristiques, qu'elles pourront peut-être servir, à défaut de légende, à retrouver le lieu d'émission de ces monnaies curieuses.[151]

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[146] De Saulcy, "Numism. des Rois nabathéens," Ann. de la Soc. Fr. de Numism. 1873, Pl. I. 1, 2, ii. 10.

[147] Herod., iii. 5 : ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἡ γῆ ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος—Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος—τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖθις Σύρων μέχρι Σιρβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον οὖρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· et les notes de M. H. Stein.

[148] Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Gaza, καὶ οἱ κέραμοι λεγονται Γαζῖται.

[149] Itinerar. Antonini, 152, p. 69, éd. Parthey et Pinder. Anonym. Ravenn., p. 83, 356; Guido, p. 524, éd. Parthey et Pinder.

[150] Herod., iii. 6.

[151] Berosus, "Fragm. apud Syncell.," p. 28 B : γενηθῆναι—καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν αἰγῶν σκέλη καὶ κέρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππόποδας. Le mot hébreu צְפִיר signifie chèvre et Etienne de

Enfin sur la drachme n. 42 il paraît n'y avoir qu'un jod. L'ancre et le dauphin indiquent un port de mer. Les oiseaux sont semblables à celui qui se tient debout sur le chameau du n. 40. On pourrait attribuer cette drachme à Jenysus, nom qui paraît sémitique, à moins de préférer Jamnia יַמְנָה ou Jopé, יָפוֹ. Mais à cette époque Jopé paraît avoir, comme Ascalon, fait partie de la Phénicie.[152]

La drachme du British Museum, n. 43, n'appartient peut-être pas à cette série, mais elle présente trop d'analogie avec les autres pièces pour ne pas la mentionner. Il en est de même du n. 44.

Faut-il s'étonner de trouver tant de monnaies diverses à Gaza et dans les villes voisines? Je ne le pense pas. Lorsque Cambyse entreprit la conquête de l'Egypte, Gaza fut seule en état de lui opposer une résistance vigoureuse,[153] car Azotos avait probablement trop souffert par le siége de 29 ans, qu'elle avait eu à soutenir contre le roi d'Egypte Psammétichus.[154] Quand Hérodote visita ces parages vers 450, Gaza qu'il nomme Cadytis, selon la prononciation égyptienne, était une ville si considérable, que le voyageur grec n'oublie pas de noter,[155] qu'à son avis, elle n'était pas surpassée en grandeur par Sardes, le

Byzance fait mention d'une tradition, qui faisait dériver le nom d'Azotus d'une femme (déesse?) de ce nom. Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Ἄζωτος. Ταύτην—ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄζας (עַזָּה) ὠνόμαζεν, ὃ ἐστι χίμαιραν, ἣν Ἄζωτον (עַזָּתִי) μετέφρασαν. La tête de chèvre serait-elle le type parlant de Gaza? La tête barbue du n. 29 semble représenter Azon, le fils d'Hercule, dont parle le même auteur *s. v.* Γάζα. Ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἄζα, καὶ μέχρι νῦν Σύροι Ἄζαν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ Ἄζωνος (comp. עַז fort.) τοῦ παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους. V. aussi עזא, עזאל, עֲזָאזֵל, עֲזִיקָא, "Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Gesellsch.," xxxi. p. 225, 235, 250 et 328.

[152] Scylax, "Peripl.," 104.

[153] Polyb., xvi. 40.

[154] Herod., ii. 157.

[155] Herod., ii. 159, iii. 5; Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Κάρυτις.

célèbre capitale de Crésus. Cet état de prospérité dura jusqu'au siége et à la prise de Gaza par Alexandre le Grand et cet espace de près de deux siècles est plus que suffisant pour y placer les monnaies décrites.

A en juger par le carré creux irrégulier et profond, qui ressemble à celui des dariques, on pourrait croire les drachmes, n. 1, frappées tout au commencement du cinquième siècle, mais puisque la double tête du n. 1 est tout à fait semblable à celle des drachmes n. 4, qui n'ont pas de carré creux et que la chouette du n. 4 n'est pas de style archaïque, il faut bien conclure que l'émission de toutes ces pièces n'a pas commencée avant 465, quand après la bataille de l'Eurymédon les Perses durent laisser l'empire de la mer à Athènes et que, si quelques variétés semblent plus anciennes, c'est qu'elles ont été copiées d'après des monnaies archaïques, que le commerce avait fait connaître aux Syriens de Palestine.

Tant qu'Athènes resta à la tête de la grande confédération qui embrassait presque toutes les villes grecques de la côte d'Asie mineure et de laquelle semble même avoir fait partie Doros, ville phénicienne assez voisine de Gaza,[156] les tétradrachmes et drachmes attiques ont sans doute été importés en masse[157] sur la côte de Palestine en paiement des denrées que les Athéniens achetaient aux Syriens et aux Arabes,[158] 465—412. Mais quand, après le désastre de l'armée athénienne en Sicile l'an 413, la confédération se fut dissolue et que la prise d'Athènes par Lysandre en 404 eut mis fin à l'hégémonie athénienne,

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[156] U. Koehler, "Urk. z. Gesch. d. Del. Att. Bundes," p. 121, 207; Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Δῶρος. Καρικὸς φόρος· Δῶρος, Φασηλῖται.

[157] Huber, "Num. Chron.," N.S. ii., 1862, p. 160.

[158] Buechsenschuetz, "Besitz und Erwerb im Gr. Alterth.," 1869, p. 433—436; Plutarch, "Alex.," c. 25.

les tétradrachmes attiques vinrent à manquer en Palestine et c'est ce qui dut engager les Syriens à les contrefaire.

D'abord la légende fut copiée comme le type, mais peu à peu les lettres grecques disparurent pour faire place à des légendes purement sémitiques. Le poids de la drachme descend lentement de 4^{20} à 3^{60} grammes et devient pareil à celui de la drachme phénicienne, que nous avons vue plus haut à 3^{60} jusqu'en 351 et à 3^{40} entre 350 et 333.

Il est inutile de recapituler l'histoire de la côte de Palestine sous l'empire des Perses. Tout ce qu'on en sait a été réunie avec le plus grand soin par M. Stark.[159]

Après le siége de 332 Gaza fut repeuplée par Alexandre, mais elle devint une place forte plutôt qu'une ville autonome[160] et il ne faut par s'attendre à trouver de ses monnaies.

En 302 Ptolémée prit possession de la Célésyrie et assiégea Sidon, et quoiqu'il retourna bientôt en Egypte, il laissa des garnisons dans les villes conquises,[161] qui y restèrent jusqu'à la paix de l'année suivante.

Peu après sous Seleucus I., se place le statère d'or aux types d'Alexandre avec un ℵ dans le champ,[162] un tétradrachme avec la même lettre sous le siége de Jupiter,[163] une obole avec amphore[164] et un hémiobole avec ℵ et ℳ.[165] Cet ℵ désigne probablement Anthédon.

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[159] "Gaza u. die philist. Kueste," 1852, p. 227—237.

[160] Stark, "Gaza," p. 341, 342.

[161] Diodor., xx. 113. *Πτολεμαῖος—τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἁπάσας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο—τὰς δὲ χειρωθείσας πόλεις φρουραῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος, ἐπανῆλθε—εἰς Αἴγυπτον.*

[162] Mueller, "Alex.," n. 1471.

[163] Ma coll., contremarquée d'une amphore.

[164] V. plus haut n. 24bis.

[165] Ma coll.

Quand après la mort de Seleucus I. en 281, la Palestine eut passée au pouvoir de Ptolémée II. Philadelphe,[166] le monogramme de Gaza apparaît régulièrement depuis 262 sur les statères des rois d'Egypte. Il accompagne le monogramme de Ptolémais sur le statère de l'an 24 de Philadelphe, 262, et celui de Joppé sur ceux des années 30, 35, 36 et 39, 256—247, et de l'an 2 d'Euergète. Il est seul sur des statères des années 25 et 29, 261, 257, et accompagné du monogramme d'Anthédon de 30 à 33, et en 37, 256—253, 249 et l'an 2, 246, de Ptolémée III.[167]

Au retour d'Euergète I. de l'expédition d'Asie, qui le rendit momentanément maître de tout l'empire des Seleucides,[168] furent frappés, à ce qu'il paraît, les statères d'or, qui ont au revers Jupiter tenant le foudre dans un quadrige d'éléphants. Sur un de ces statères se lit le monogramme de Gaza,[169] sur un autre celui d'Anthédon.[170]

Quand plus tard la côte de Palestine eut été reprise par les rois de Syrie c'est Ascalon et non plus Gaza, devastée en 198 après avoir été assiégée par Antiochus III.,[171] dont le nom et la colombe se voient sur les tétradrachmes d'Alexandre II. Zébina, de Cléopâtre et Antiochus VIII., de ce roi seul et d'Antiochus IX. Philopator, depuis 125 jusqu'à ce qu'en 104 commence l'ère d'autonomie pour Ascalon.

En 98 Gaza fut complétement ruinée par Alexandre Jannée[172] et resta inhabitée jusqu'en 58, lorsque Gabinius

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[166] Stark, p. 366.
[167] Feuardent, Catal. Démétrio, ma coll., etc.
[168] Stark, p. 369.
[169] *N.* 4 7[04] gr. ; Mion. VI. n. 14 ; "Rois Grecs," Pl. LXXXI. 7.
[170] M. Feuardent a bien voulu m'en informer.
[171] Polyb., xvi. 40, xxix. 6[a] ; Stark, p. 405.
[172] Stark, p. 500.

fonda une nouvelle Gaza non loin de l'emplacement de la ville dévastée[173] et bientôt commencent les bronzes qui continuent sous les empereurs, depuis Auguste jusqu'à Gordien.[174]

Il me reste à expliquer pourquoi je n'ai pas fait usage des sicles hébreux pour trouver la date des monnaies phéniciennes, surtout depuis que M. Madden a adopté les vues de M. de Saulcy et croit ces sicles frappés entre 458 et 432.[175] Une date aussi reculée pour des monnaies de ce genre me semble très-peu probable, si je les compare aux autres monnaies de la cinquième satrapie.

Elles ne présentent pas de traces de carré creux et nous avons vu le carré creux en usage sur les espèces les plus fortes jusqu'au commencement du quatrième siècle[176] et sur les divisions jusqu'après Alexandre.

Le nom de la ville est suivi d'une épithète honorifique, קדשה, et les titres ne sont adoptés à Sidon que vers 120, à Tyr que vers 140 et à Byblus que du temps d'Antiochus IV., 176—164.

La date est exprimée par une lettre numérale précédée de l'initiale du mot שנה, année, et nous n'avons trouvé que des chiffres tant en Chypre qu'en Phénicie avant 300 et encore ces chiffres n'apparaissent-ils qu'après 368. Pour rencontrer le mot שת ajouté à la date il faut descendre jusqu'en 238, quand Aradus et puis Marathus commencent à s'en servir et le signe L, équivalent à שת, ne commence à paraître qu'avec le règne de Ptolémée III., 247—222, au plus tôt. Car vraisemblablement les statères

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[173] Stark, p. 509.
[174] Stark, p. 521.
[175] "Num. Chron.," N.S. xvi., p. 120.
[176] La seule exception est la drachme de Gaza dont le revers est copié d'après une monnaie d'Athènes.

d'or d'Arsinoé Philadelphe, sur lesquels la date est précédée d'un L, ne sont pas contemporains d'Euergète mais de Ptolémée V.

Enfin les sicles ont le même poids, 14^{30} gr., que les statères de Ptolémée V. Epiphane, 204—181 et de son fils Ptolémée VI. Philométor, 164—146.

Pour toutes ces raisons qui plaident en faveur de l'ancienne attribution à Simon Maccabée, j'ai cru prudent de ne pas admettre les sicles juifs parmi les monnaies de la cinquième satrapie, qui font le sujet du présent article et de m'en tenir aux seules monnaies des villes de la Phénicie et de la côte de Palestine.

J. P. Six.

Amsterdam, *mars* 1877.

Av. J.-C.

448. Les Athéniens abandonnent la Chypre.
Une dynastie phénicienne s'établit à Salamine.
Baalmalek roi de Citium.

410. Euagoras I. s'empare de Salamine et détrône Audymon.
Azbaal roi de Citium.

395. Le roi de Sidon se joint avec sa flotte à celle de Conon.

394. Bataille navale près de Cnide.

391. Citium, Amathus et Soli résistent à Euagoras.

387. Paix d'Antalcidas. Euagoras prend Citium et presque toute la
386. Chypre, puis Tyr et autres villes de la Phénicie et de Palestine.

385. Il est battu et assiégé dans Salamine.
Melekiaton roi de Citium.

382 ? Artaxerxès fait la paix avec Euagoras et le reconnaît roi.

374. Mort d'Euagoras, Nicoclès roi. Straton I. roi de Sidon.

368 ? Pumiaton roi de Citium.

362. Grande révolte contre Artaxerxès. Mort de Nicoclès et de Straton I. Ténnès roi à Sidon, Euagoras II. à Salamine.

359. Mort d'Artaxerxès II. Ochus roi de Perse.
Pnytagoras roi de Salamine.

351. Seconde révolte. Sidon brulée. Mort de Ténnès.
Les rois Gérostrate à Aradus, Enylus à Byblus, Straton II. à Sidon, Azemilkos à Tyr.

333. Aradus, Byblus et Sidon se rendent à Alexandre. Tyr résiste.

332. Siége et prise de Tyr et de Gaza. Straton II. détrôné, Abdalonyme roi. Ère d'Alexandre.

331. Mort de Pnytagoras. Nicocréon roi de Salamine.

323. Mort d'Alexandre.

320. Ptolémée s'empare de la Phénicie.

314. Antigone prend Tyr.

312. Ptolémée reprend Tyr et Sidon.

311. Mort d'Alexandre Ægus. La Phénicie sous Antigone.

Statères de Baalmalek.

Statères d'Azbaal.
Statères d'Aradus et de Byblus.
Doubles statères de Sidon avec la galère à la voile.

Statères d'Euagoras I.

Hémidariques et statères de Mélékiaton.
Dariques d'Euagoras I.
Doubles statères de Sidon avec la muraille et les lions.

366 ?—323 ? Hémidariques datées de Pumiaton.
Statères d'Aradus et de Tyr avec dates.
Dariques d'Euagoras II.
Doubles statères de Sidon avec la galère.

Statères d'Enylus à Byblus.

332. Statères d'or de Pnytagoras.

332—323. Doubles statères datés de Sidon.

331—330. Statères de Tyr des années 2 et 3.

331. Statères d'or de Nicocréon.

328—287. Tétradrachmes d'Acé datés et d'Aradus aux types d'Alexandre.

313—309. Doubles statères datés de Sidon.

311—281. Statères d'or et tétradrachmes de Sidon et statères d'Aradus aux types d'Alexandre.

310—296. Statères datés de Tyr.

310—287. Statères d'or datés d'Acé.

302. Ptolémée assiége Sidon, et prend Gaza et autres villes.
301. La Phénicie sous Seleucus I. roi de Syrie.
285. Ptolémée II. Philadelphe devient roi d'Egypte.
281. Antiochus I. roi de Syrie.
274. Ere de Tyr. Le sud de la Phénicie sous Philadelphe.

262. Antiochus II. roi de Syrie.
258. Ere d'Aradus et de Marathus.
247. Mort de Philadelphe. Ptolémée III. Euergète. Seleucus II.

226. Seleucus III. roi de Syrie 224. Antiochus III. roi de Syrie.

222. Ptolémée IV. Philopator.
204. Ptolémée V. Epiphane.
199. Antiochus III. dévaste Gaza.
181. Ptolémée VI. Philométor sous la tutelle de Cléopâtre I.
174. Mort de Cléopâtre.
170. La Phénicie sous Antiochus IV. Epiphane.
164. Antiochus V. Eupator.
162. Démétrius I. Soter.
151. Alexandre I. Bala. Marathus détruite.

146. Démétrius II. Nicator.
142. Ere d'Israël.
138—129. Antiochus VII. Euergète.

132. Démétrius II. Nicator.
125. Cléopâtre et Antiochus VIII. Ere de Tyr.
122. Antiochus VIII.
114. Antiochus IX.
111. Ere de Sidon.
98. Alexandre Jannée prend et détruit Gaza.
64. La Syrie province romaine.
58. Gabinius rebâtit Gaza.

281—262. Tétradrachmes d'Antiochus I. avec le monogramme d'Aradus.
274—247. Statères de Philadelphe, datés depuis 266 à Tyr, depuis 261 à Sidon.
262. Le mot ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ remplacé par ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
252—242. Statères d'or d'Arsinoé Philadelphe datés à Tyr et à Sidon.
246—240. Statères d'Euergète datés à Tyr et à Sidon.
238—214. Tétradrachmes d'Aradus aux types d'Alexandre, avec chiffres phéniciens, de Sidon et de Tyr.
236—152. Bronzes datés de Marathus.
226—224. Tétradrachmes et drachmes autonomes de Marathus datés.
222—174. Statères des Ptolémées à Tyr et à Sidon, sans dates.
202—183. Tétradrachmes d'Aradus avec chiffres grecs.

169—110. Drachmes d'Aradus aux types d'Ephèse.
168—165. Bronzes d'Antiochus IV. à Byblus, Tyr et Sidon.
162—153. Bronzes de Démétrius I. datés à Tyr et à Sidon.
151. Tétradrachme d'Alexandre I. à Aradus.
151—114. Statères des rois de Syrie à Sidon.
150—126. Statères des rois de Syrie à Tyr.
142—138. Sicles autonomes datés à Jérusalem.

136 — 46. Statères autonomes datés d'Aradus.

125 — 57 après J.-C. Statères autonomes datés de Tyr.

111 — 43 après J.-C. Statères autonomes datés de Sidon.

X.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS ON THE COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. THE GREAT, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(*Continued.*)

§ V.—COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., WITH THE "MARS CONSERVATOR" AND "SOL INVICTVS" TYPES AND SUPPOSED CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS.

(?) 312—(?) 323.

17. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** [or **IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.**] Bust of Constantine I. laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—**MARTI CONSERVATORI.** Bust of Constantine I. to left, with helmet adorned with monogram, and with cuirass. Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241, No. 11, from Tanini, "Suppl.," p. 271; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 86, No. 11.)

Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," Nos. 362—367), who notices this coin, describes it as the "helmeted bust of Mars, *sous les traits de Constantin*," but says nothing about the monogram.

Cavedoni states[1] that in four specimens before him the countenance of *Mars Conservator* bears no resemblance whatever to that of Constantine, and that the supposed

[1] "Disamina," p. 219.

monogram is nothing but a *plain star of six equal rays*, placed as an ornament on that part of the helmet which protects the neck behind the right ear, adding that it is in truth a plain star, as appears from a comparison with the *denarii* of the triumvirs M. Metellus, Q. Maximus, and C. Servilius, who, by concert, placed on the obverse of their coins the head of Rome, with a helmet winged and adorned with a *star in the same identical part of the helmet.*

18. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**MARTI CONSERVATORI.** Mars naked, standing holding a spear and a shield. In the field to the right an equilateral cross; to the left a star. In the exergue **P. T.** (*Prima Tarracone*). Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241, No. 12; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 87, No. 12. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 372—375.)

Cavedoni considers[2] that the pretended equilateral cross will probably turn out to be nothing more than the Latin letter or numerical mark **X**, drawn somewhat on one side, perhaps through haste, or want of skill of the designer; or it may be that a Christian did it purposely.

19. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Head of Constantine I. to the left, laureated.

Rev.—**MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI.** Mars helmeted, standing holding spear, and leaning on a shield on which ✳. In the field to the right **A**; to the left **S**. In the exergue **P. TR.** (*Prima Treveris*). Æ.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241, No. 13, from Tanini, "Suppl.," p. 269, who

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[2] "Disamina," p. 219.

has confused two different coins together; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 87, No. 13.)

Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," No. 384), who publishes a similar coin, but with "head to the right," says nothing about the monogram on the shield.

Cavedoni considers[3] the supposed monogram on the shield of *Mars Pater Conservator* would be a most improper jumble of things sacred with profane, but that it is certainly nothing else than the usual star of six rays, perhaps with the vertical line a little larger at the top.

20. *Obv.*—**IMP. C. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**SOLI INVICTO COMITI.** Naked figure with cloak over right shoulder, crowned with rays, standing looking to the left, raising the right hand, and holding in the left a globe. In the field to left ✳. In the exergue **R. P.** (*Româ Prima*). Æ., large size.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241, No. 14, Pl. No. 8, from the collection of Signor Lovatti; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 87, No. 14, Pl. III. No. 8.)

Cavedoni also considers[4] this pretended monogram to be only the usual six-pointed star.

Small specimens of this coin, also struck at Rome,[5] are in the British Museum (R. P.—*Româ prima*, and R. T.—*Româ tertia*) with in the field to left $\frac{R}{X}$, and to right the letter **F**, and also four coins of the Emperor Licinius with **R. P.**, **R. S.**, **R. T.**, and **R. Q.** (*Româ—prima, secunda, tertia*, and *quarta*) in the exergue, and $\frac{R}{X}$ in the field to left, and to right the letter **F**.

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[3] "Disamina," p. 220.

[4] "Disamina," p. 220.

[5] See § XX and § XXI. The monogram ✳ does not appear on coins struck at Rome till after 340.

In all probability these signs are a letter or a number, and not a cross.

21. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**SOLI INVICTO COMITI.** Same type. In the field to left ☩, a cross larger at the extremities; to right a star of eight rays. In the exergue **P. T.** (*Prima Tarraconæ*) or **T. T.** (*Tertia Tarraconæ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. Nos. 1 and 2. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241, No. 15, Pl. No. 9; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 87, No. 15, Pl. III. No. 9.)

Garrucci adds that sometimes the cross is placed in a crown of laurel, and in the exergue **Q. Q.**, which he proposes to read **O. Q.**, *officina quarta* (?). But most likely the correct reading would be **Q. T.**, *Quarta Turracone.*

Cavedoni again considers[6] the pretended equilateral cross is only the letter or numeral **X** placed sideways.

Cavedoni,[7] following Eckhel,[8] was originally of opinion that the coins of Constantine I. with Gentile symbols were not entirely excluded till 323 after the defeat of Licinius; but when he had read Garrucci's *first edition* of the "Numismatica Costantiniana," he withdrew his assertion,[9] as the coins bearing the names and types of *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Mars*[10] never bear the title of *Maximus* bestowed upon Constantine in 315, from which it may

[6] "Disamina," p. 220.
[7] "Ricerche," p. 5.
[8] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 79.
[9] "Appendice," p. 11.
[10] This appears to have been a mistake. The coins of *Mars* should not have been included, as a specimen of this type is quoted by Tanini ("Suppl.," p. 373), on which Constantine takes the title of **MAX.**, a point Garrucci afterwards dis-

reasonably be inferred that all these coins were struck previous to 312, when Constantine openly professed Christianity.[11]

I must however observe that there is a series of coins of Crispus and Constantine II. with the type of Jupiter, and the legend **IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS.** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. pp. 197, 198, Nos. 83—85; p. 234, Nos. 143, 144), which were certainly issued posterior to 317, in which year they were proclaimed *Cæsars*, but both Cavedoni[12] and Garrucci[13] suggest and believe that from the mint-marks which these coins bear, namely, **ANT.** (*Antiochiâ*), **AL.** (*Alexandriâ*), **N.** (*Nicomediâ*), and **K.** (*Cyzico*), the type was not struck in any mint in the dominions of Constantine, but in those subject to Licinius.

Should these coins of the *Mars* and *Sol Invictus* type be considered by some subsequent to the year 312, in any case they must be placed before 323, since coins of Constantius *Cæsar* are wanting in this series; and as to the type of *Sol Invictus*, as no specimens of this type on

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covered ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 245; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 95). Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," No. 361) also quotes the same coin from *Tanini*.

[11] This view seems in some degree confirmed by the statement of Banduri (II., pp. 262, 274), who, in speaking of the coins of Constantine I. with Pagan deities, says that the inscription of the obverse belongs to Constantine, but the head is that of Galerius Maximian, Maximinus Daza, or Licinius. Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 141, *note*; cf. p. 128, *note*) specially alludes to the coins with **IOVI CONSERVATORI** (Nos. 333, 341), of the former of which Banduri says, "*Caput non Constantini sed Gal. Maximini laureatum*," and of the latter, *Caput non Constantini sed Licinii*" (cf. Cavedoni, "Appendice," p. 11, *note* 8).

[12] "Appendice," p. 11.

[13] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 244, *note*; cf. p. 235, *note*; cf. "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 92, *note*.

the coinage of Licinius II. have been discovered, Garrucci thinks[14] that it was first struck by the two *Augusti*, Constantine I. and Licinius I., and secondly by Constantine I. and his sons after the year 319, when the quarrels between Constantine I. and Licinius I. had probably commenced. Cavedoni [15] considers them to have been issued anterior to 315.

It may, I think, be safely assumed that the signs on the coins, with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.**, are *Christian*. What then are these signs on the coins bearing the Pagan inscriptions of **MARS CONSERVATOR** and **SOL INVICTVS**?

It is not at all to be wondered at that Tanini considered this anomaly "a portentous confusion," [16] and that Eckhel found a proof that Constantine, though professing Christianity, was not averse to Paganism.[17]

Explanations have been offered of these discrepancies.

Garrucci considers that the mixing of Christian and Pagan emblems was rather a fault of vanity than of superstition ;[18] more especially as Constantine leaves no doubt who is signified by *Mars*, as he substituted on

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[14] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 241; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 88.

[15] "Disamina," p. 220.

[16] "Gentilium superstitionis et Christianæ Religionis *portentosa confusio* reperitur, ubi Crux et Christi monogramma cum ethnicorum idolis consociantur" ("Suppl. ad Bandur.," p. 274).

[17] "Ex numis pertinax ejus in vetera sacra odium, et adversum Christiana adfectus probari non possit" ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 89).

[18] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 244. In the first edition Garrucci was of opinion that the *Sol Invictus* in no way alluded to the Gentile religion, but was employed as a symbol of the great deeds of Constantine I. and his sons, which Cavedoni ("Append.," p. 11) thought admissible as regards the inscription **CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE**, but not for that of

the coins his own features for those of the Pagan deity,[19] and that further he does not leave us in any doubt who is intended by the *Sol*, as Zonaras testifies that he changed the head of a statue of *Sol*, which was brought from Heliopolis to Constantinople, fixing his own head in its place, which seems corroborated by a gold coin with the legend, **SOLI INVICTO AETERNO AVG.**, representing Constantine (?) radiated, or the Sun in a *quadriga*.[20]

Cavedoni, on the contrary,[21] from an examination of the text of Zonaras, found the following words:—"Constantine placed in the forum of Constantinople the

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SOLI INVICTO COMITI—a legend which was introduced under the impious Maximinus Daza. Cavedoni then suggested that perhaps these latter were struck by the Senate who had authority over the brass coinage, not then knowing that a *gold* coin of Crispus with this legend, struck at Nicomedia, existed (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 15), but he afterwards ("Disamina," p. 226) retracted his opinion.

[19] Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 245; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 95) thinks that Constantine, better advised, afterwards substituted for the legend *Mars* the word **VIRTVS** (signifying "military valour"), still leaving the Mars type, not only on his own coinage (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 96, No. 31; p. 116, Nos. 145, 148, 149), but on that of Crispus (p. 189, No. 17, with the word **VICTOR**; p. 199, No. 96, with the inscription **PRINCIPI**—*sic*), and of Constantine II. (p. 214, No. 10; p. 221, No. 52). The "type of Mars" with the legend **VIRTVS** occurs as early as 307, when Constantine I. was yet *Cæsar* (Cohen, vol. vi. p. 167, Nos. 528, 529), and appears to have been continued by Constantine II. *Augustus* (p. 221, No. 53), Constans *Augustus* (p. 258, No. 86), and Constantius II. *Augustus* (p. 300, No. 147). The word **PRINCIPI** (*sic*), quoted by Garrucci from a coin of Crispus, is erroneously given, and should be read **PRINCIPIA**. Some remarks on this curious form may be found in my paper on "A Gold Medallion of Constantine II." ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 347).

[20] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 108, No. 100. See *note* 37.

[21] "Disamina," p. 222.

column of porphyry brought thither from Rome, and upon it he placed a statue of bronze, a marvellous object, as well for the excellence of its art as for its size. It looked like a living and breathing man. It is said that this statue represented Apollo, and was brought from Ilium, a city of Phrygia. So Constantine dedicated it there under his own name, and put upon its head the relics of the nails of our Saviour's cross;" and adds that "*Apollo* is not the same thing as *Sol*,[22] and *Ilium* is not the same city as *Heliopolis*, nor does changing the name of an image mean taking off its head and substituting another in its place."

It appears however that Ducange,[23] from whom Garrucci had quoted,[24] writes as follows:—"Zonaras et alii Apollinis statuam fuisse scribunt quam Heliopoli urbe Phrygiæ in urbem allatam in suum nomen transfudit Constantinus, qui Apollinis ipsius habitu radiatus in nummis aliquot visitur cum hac inscriptione **CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE**."

With respect to "changing the name," Garrucci writes:[25]—"I would most willingly accept the emendation proposed by Cavedoni of substituting 'changed the name' for 'changed the head;' but I confess I cannot

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[22] There is no doubt that Helios and Apollo were, in the time of Homer and after, originally distinct; but Pausanias (*circ.* A.D. 174) states that he was told the two gods were identical (vii. 23, 6), though it is said that no Greek poet ever made Apollo ride in the chariot of Helios through the heavens (Smith, "Dict of Biog.," *s. v. Helios*). But in Roman times, when the rays were introduced on the head of Apollo, then Apollo and Sol were certainly considered one and the same (cf. Hogg, "Scriptural Names of Baalbec," p. 62, *tirage à part*, in the "Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit.," vol. vii., N.S.).

[23] "Const. Christ.," i. 24, 6.

[24] Cf. "Diss. Arch.," p. 23.

[25] "Diss. Arch.," p. 24.

understand how one could add the rays and give the name of Constantine to a statue, preserving the countenance and head-dress of Apollo, without rather transforming Constantine into Sol, than Sol into Constantine.[26] It is wonderful, in fact, how the historians of Constantine and Constantinople alternately call this statue by the names of 'Sol' and 'Constantine,' as well as the one which represents him in a *quadriga*, with a victory in his right hand, which Codinus says is borne by Sol ὑπὸ ἡλίου φερόμενον στυλίδιον, while all the other historians, and with them Codinus himself, call it a statue of Constantine τὴν αὐτοῦ στήλην."[27]

[26] That the Emperors sometimes changed the heads of statues is on record. The colossal statue of Nero, which was commenced but not completed by Zenodorus (Plin., "Nat. Hist.," xxxiv. 7), was in 75 or 76 dedicated by Vespasian as the *Sun*, the head of Nero being substituted by that of the Sun (Smith, "Dict. of Antiq.," p. 1069: "Hoc simulacrum post Neronis vultum cui antea dicatum fuerat, Soli consecrasset," Spart., "In Hadr.," 19. This is a mistake, as the statue was consecrated to the Sun under Vespasian, and not under Hadrian). Commodus afterwards removed the head of the Sun, and put his own head on the statue in its place ("Herodian," i. 15: "Colossi autem caput dempsit, quod Neronis esset, ac suum imposuit," Lamprid., "In Comm.," 17. This passage should read *quod* [illegible] as the head of the Sun had been put on it by Vespasian, in the place of that of Nero). Perhaps a representation of this statue may be intended on certain coins of Vespasian and Titus (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Vesp., Æ., No. 172, from *Morell;* Tit., . and Æ., Nos. 72—77).

[27] I must here observe that in the translation of Garrucci's article in the "Revue Numismatique" (1866, p. 93) the text of the original Italian ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 244), which reads, "Che alla statua del Sole, trasportata da *Eliopoli* nella capitale novella dell' Impero, egli cambiò *la testa sostituendovi la sua*," is changed to "Qu'à la statue d'Apollon transportée d'*Ilium* dans la nouvelle capitale de l'Empire *il changea le nom en y substituant le sien*," without a word of reference to Cavedoni's emendations. A note is also given which is not in the

As, however, Garrucci and Cavedoni have given conflicting readings of the passage in Zonaras,[28] it will be interesting to here give it *in extenso*. It is as follows:—

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ ὁ κυκλοτερὴς κίων ὁ πορφυροῦς, ὃν ἐκ Ῥώμης (ὡς λόγος) κομισθέντα κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστησεν, ᾗ κατέστρωται λιθίναις πλαξὶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ Πλακωτὸν παρωνόμασται, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ χάλκεον ἐνίδρυσεν ἄγαλμα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, διά τε τὴν τέχνην διά τε τὸ μέγεθος. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πελώριον ἦν, ἡ δὲ ἀκρίβειαν ἐδείκνυ χειρὸς ἀρχαίας μικροῦ πλαττούσης, καὶ ἔμπνοα· λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι στήλην τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ μετενεχθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ πόλεως τοῦ Ἰλίου. Ὁ δὲ θειότατος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος εἰς οἰκεῖον ὄνομα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστησε, τῇ κεφαλῇ τούτου τινὰς τῶν ἥλων ἐναρμοσάμενος, οἳ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου προσεπαττάλευσαν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σταυρῷ, ὅ καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν διήρκεσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κίονος ἑστηχός. Πέπτωκε δὲ βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος βιαίου τε καὶ σφοδροῦ.

It may be thus translated:—"Above all the circular porphyry column which brought from Rome (as report says), he [Constantine] placed in the forum [of Constantinople], and covered with stone tablets, from which also it was named 'Placoton' [overlaid], and upon it he placed a brazen statue,[29] a wonder to behold, both on account of its art and of its great size. For the size was prodigious, yet the art displayed the exactness of the ancient hand with its minute moulding, and gave it as it were life. And it is said that this statue was a monument to

original Italian, the substance of which may be found in Garrucci's paper in the "Diss. Arch.," pp. 23, 24.

[28] "Annales," xiii. 3, in Migne, "Patrologiæ cursus completus," vol. 134. Paris, 1864.

[29] Socrates ("Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 17) states that the portion of the cross sent by Helena to Constantine was by him privately enclosed in his own statue, which was placed on a column of porphyry in the so-called forum of Constantine in Constantinople, that thus the city might be rendered secure where that relic was preserved. See *note* 32.

Apollo, and had been brought from the city of Phrygia, Ilium.[30] But the divine Emperor *set up the statue in his own name,* fitting upon the head some of the nails which fastened the body of our Lord to the cross of our salvation,[31] and the statue even remained to our time on the column unmoved. But it fell during the reign of Alexius Comnenus from the blowing of a strong and violent wind."[32]

From this it will be seen that Constantine I. is said to have "set up the statue of Apollo *in his own name,*" sub-

[30] This passage was emended by Lambecius (Du Cange, "Ad Zonar.," p. 30) to πολεῶς Ἡλιοῦ, or Ἡλιοπόλεως, from comparison with a passage of Pollux ("Chron.")—ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως οὔσης τῆς Φρυγίας, but there is no town known in Phrygia of the name of *Helius* or *Heliopolis* (cf. Garrucci, "Diss. Arch.," p. 24; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 93, *note* 2).

[31] One of the nails of the cross was said to have been attached to the bridle of Constantine's horse, according to the saying in Zechariah (xiv. 20), "In that day shall there be upon the bells [marg. 'bridles'] of the horses HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD" (Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 17; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 1; Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 18), which Jerome alludes to ("Comm. in Zech." *ad loc.*) as "nam sensu quidem pio dictam sed ridiculam." Others are said to have been used as ornaments for his helmet, for his diadem, and for his spear. See § XVI., "Coins of Constantine I., with the *Diadem.*"

[32] This statue was supposed to be the work of Phidias (Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 29), but the anonymous writer, "De Inventione Crucis" (cf. Du Cange, "Ad Zonar.," p. 30), says that it was erected by the Romans when freed from the yoke of the tyrant Maximian, and was afterwards transferred to Constantinople by Constantine. Constantine was replaced by the "great and religious" Julian—Julian by Theodosius. According to Zonaras, as we see in the text, it was standing intact in his time (A.D. 1118), and it fell about this time in the reign of Alexius Comnenus (A.D. 1081—1118). In A.D. 1412 the keystone was loosened by an earthquake. The Palladium was said to be buried under the pillar (Von Hammer, "Constantinopolis und der Bosporus," vol. i. p. 162; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 297, *note* a).

stituting the nails of the Passion for the rays of the Sun, thus assuming with singular shamelessness (as M. von Hammer says)[33] the attributes of Apollo and Christ. Cavedoni has suggested[34] that this statue is represented on the coins of Constantine I. with the legend **AETERNA PIETAS**, which I shall describe in their proper place.[35]

But to return to the coins with the legend **SOLI INVICTO COMITI.**

Cavedoni[36] is totally opposed to Garrucci's idea that Constantine is represented upon them as Sol, more especially as on some of the brass coins with the legend **SOLI INVICT. COM. D.N.** *i.e.* **COM***iti* **D***omini* **N***ostri* (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 459) Constantine would be *comes* or companion of himself, and on a gold coin with the legend **SOLI INVICTO COMITI**, where Sol is standing crowning Constantine (Cohen, No. 101), Constantine would be crowning himself;[37] besides, on the gold coin of Constantine with the legend **COMIS CONSTANTINI AVG.**, and two busts side by side, one the Sun radiated, the other Constantine laureated, Constantine would be represented twice on the same coin.[38]

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[33] "Constantinopolis und der Bosporus," vol. i. p. 162.

[34] "Disamina," p. 222.

[35] § XIII. "Consecration Coins of Constantine I."

[36] "Disamina," p. 222.

[37] On another gold coin, with the legend **SOLI INVICTO AETERNO AVG.**, the type of which Cohen (No.. 100) describes as "Constantine ? (or the Sun)," Constantine would have usurped the title of *æternus*.

[38] This rare gold coin, which was sold by M. Hoffmann to the British Museum, was first published by Sabatier ("Rev. Num.," 1863, p. 10, Pl. XVI.) as from the cabinet of M. Hoffmann ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1863, vol. iii. p. 140). He gave the reverse legend as **LIBERALITAS XI. IMP. COS. IIII. P.P.P**, and assigned its issue to the year 315. But the legend really is **IMP. IIII.**, and *not* **COS. IIII.** (Cohen,

Cavedoni, who will never believe that Constantine would have placed the cross and monogram of Christ beside the image of the *Sol Invictus*, or that he would cause himself to be represented under the semblance of the Sun together with the signs of Christianity, arrives at the general conclusion[39] that the Christian symbols on the coins of Constantine are anterior to 323, but somewhat posterior to 317, in which year the striking of the heathen types of *Mars Conservator* and *Sol Invictus* was still continued, and further that they are anterior to 319, when the differences between Constantine and Licinius showed themselves, since Christian emblems occur upon the coins bearing the inscriptions **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.** and upon those with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.**, which were struck by the two *Augusti* in concert.[40]

At the same time it may be observed that Eusebius, in

"Suppl.," p. 378, No. 9), and the coin is, therefore, anterior to 312, in which year Constantine would have been **COS. II.**, and not simply **COS.** On a gold medallion with the legend **PIETAS AVGVSTI N.**, struck at Nicomedia (**S.M.N**), and with the title **MAX.**, Constantine has his bust *radiated* (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 21), as also upon a gold medallion (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 173) of himself, Crispus, and Constantine II., struck at Siscia (**SIS**), the former of which must have been struck after 315, the latter after 317. His bust is also *radiated* on a gold coin with the legend **P. M. TRIB. P. COS. VI. P. P. PROCOS.**, quoted by Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," No. 80) from Banduri, which would have been issued in 320; but these specimens hardly help to prove that on the coins of the *Sol Invictus* type the representation is always that of Constantine, and not that of Sol. The bust of Constantine I., *radiated*, occurs on other gold medallions (Cohen, "Suppl.," p. 376, Nos. 3 and 4) struck earlier in his reign.

[39] "Disamina," p. 226.

[40] Garrucci ("Diss. Arch.") replied generally to these arguments, rather appealing to future students of the subject than offering any new views.

the rhetorical language of the time, compares Constantine to the sun rising upon the earth, and imparting its rays of light to all,[41] and in the legend **SOLI INVICTO COMITI** there is evidently an idea of the ancient Sun-God and the new Sun of Righteousness.[42]

There appears, indeed, to be little doubt that Constantine, after he had conquered Maxentius in 312, found himself compelled to tolerate, for some years, on his coins and on those of Crispus and Constantine II., some of the heathen types, such as the *Mars* and the *Sol Invictus*, one specimen of which, with the legend **CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. COS. IIII.**, gives, as I have already pointed out,[43] the date 315; whilst the coins of Crispus and Constantine II. with these types cannot be anterior to 317, when they were made *Cæsars*.

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[41] Ὥσπερ δ' ἀνίσχων ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἥλιος ἀφθόνως τοῖς πᾶσι τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς μεταδίδωσι μαρμαρυγῶν, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, ἅμα Ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴκων προφαινόμενος, ὡσανεὶ συναναπέλλων τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν φωστῆρι, τοῖς εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτῷ παριοῦσιν ἅπασι φωτὸς αὐγὰς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέλαμπε καλοκἀγαθίας. "Vit. Const.," i. 43. Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 244) quotes Lactantius ("De Mort. Pers.," 1) who says, "*Discusso transacti temporis nubilo . . . . . optata lux refulsit*," and an inscription of Cirta dedicated to Constantine, which records, "*Qui libertatem tenebris servitutis oppressam* [*nova*] *luce inluminavit.*" In the French translation of Garrucci's article there is a note added as follows ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 94, *note* 4): "The statue that Theodoret ('Hist. Eccles.,' i. c. 17 [? 34]) and Philostorgius (ii. c. 17) designate under the name of Constantine, and underneath which, according to the testimony of Cedrenus (vol. i. p. 295, ed. de Bonn), may be read the inscription Κωνσταντῖνος, shone like the sun, as Hesychius of Miletum says (p. 72, ed. Orell.), Δίκην Ἡλίου προλάμποντα τοῖς πολίταις."

[42] Rev. R. Sinker in Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* Christmas; Hogg, "Scriptural Names of Baalbec," *tirage à part*, p. 87, in "Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit.," vol. vii., N.S

[43] See § I. under the year 315.

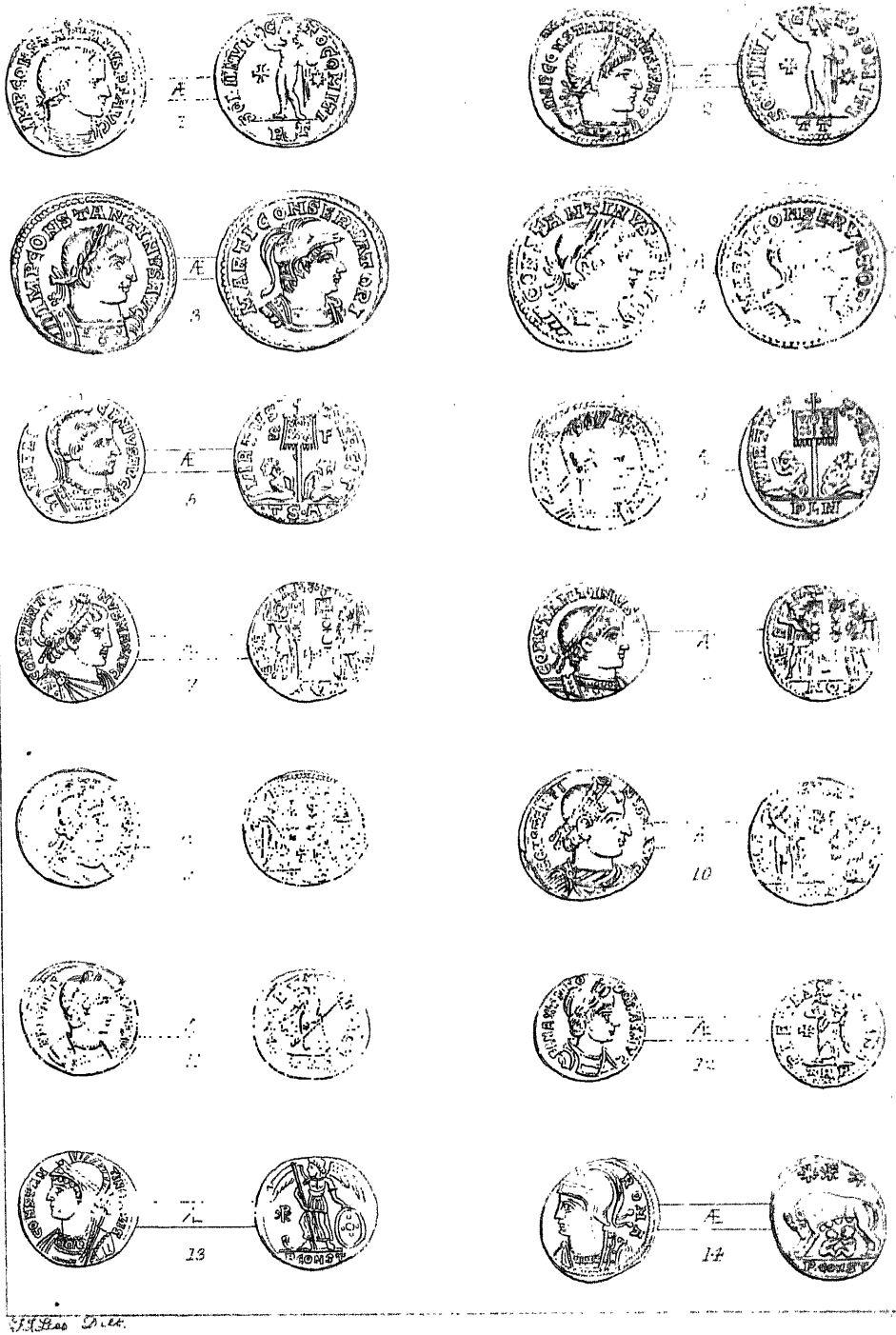
Soon after, the coins with the sun-type, but with the legend **CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE** on the coinage of Crispus and Constantine II.,[44] must have been introduced, [45] and continued in circulation till about ? 317 or 319, when the new coins of Constantine I., Crispus, and Constantine II., with the legends **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.**, and the coins of Constantine and Licinius I. and their sons with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.**, became universal.

Of the coins with the *Mars Conservator* type, I have only seen specimens of No. 17 [Pl. II., Nos. 3 and 4], and it would seem as if a *star of four rays* and a *star of six* had been mistaken for a monogram; but what may really be the signs on other examples of the *Mars* type (Nos. 18, 19), and on the large coin with the *Sol Invictus* (No. 20), given by Garrucci, no specimens being available for examination, is indeed difficult to decide, though of the smaller *Sol Invictus* coin I have seen two [No. 21, see Pl. II. Nos. 1 and 2], and the cross on them certainly differs in

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[44] Crispus, Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Æ. Nos. 69—71, struck at Rome and Treves; Constantine II., *N*. No. 12, Æ. Nos. 102—116, some with **CLARITAS REIPVB.**, struck at Rome, Treves, Tarraco, and Arles.

[45] Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 1st ed., p. 104) is of opinion that the coins of Constantine I. and his sons, Crispus and Constantine II., with the type of the Sun and the legend **CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE** and **SOLI INVICTO COMITI AVG.** were struck in mints of Gaul, and perhaps at Rome, the very year of the defeat of Licinius, 18th September, 323. But Cavedoni ("Appendice," p. 9, *note* 6) objects to this view, as on the 8th of November of this year Constans was proclaimed *Cæsar*, and we should consequently have his coins, which are all missing. The coins of Constantine I. with the former legend (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," *N*. No. 36; Æ. Nos. 202—204) do not bear the title of *Maximus*, so were probably issued previous to 315. It may be noted that no coins of Licinius I. with this legend have been found.



J.H.Bas Del.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS
ON COINS OF CONSTANTINE I ETC.
PLATE II

shape from that on the coins with the legends **VIRTVS** and **GLORIA EXERCIT.**; indeed, I am rather inclined to think it simply a form employed by some whim of the coiner for the letter or numeral **X**.

§ VI. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., LICINIUS I., CRISPUS, CONSTANTINE II., AND LICINIUS II., WITH THE SPEAR HEAD ENDING IN A CROSS.

A. (?) 317—323.[46]

22. *Obv.*—**IMP. LICINIVS AVG.** Bust of Licinius I. to the right, helmeted, with cuirass.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Standard, at the foot of which two captives seated; on the standard **VOT XX.** The top of the staff ends in a cross (·†·). In the field to right and left the letters **S. F.** In the exergue **TS. A.** (*Thessalonicâ* 1). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 5.)

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[46] About the year 323, after the defeat of Licinius I., some new copper coins were introduced, with the legend **BEATA TRANQVILLITAS** and the type of a globe on an altar, on which **VOTIS XX.**, and above the globe three stars. They occur of Constantine I. (Cohen., "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 190—199; "Suppl.," Nos. 18, 19); of Licinius II. (Cohen, Nos. 8 and 9, from *Banduri*); of Crispus, some with **COS. II.** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 31; "Suppl.," No. 2); others without consulship (Cohen, Nos. 32 to 52; "Suppl.," Nos. 3—5); and of Constantine II. (Cohen, Nos. 75—91; "Suppl.," Nos. 8—12). This type was struck at Treves, Lyons, and London (see § XIV.). As regards the coins of Crispus with **COS. II.**, these must have been struck between 321 and 323, as in 324 he was **COS. III.** At the same time it is certain that the **VOTIS XX.** in all cases refer to Constantine I., who, as was frequently the case, anticipated his *Vicennalian* vows (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 102). On the globe of these coins may be seen, on the coins of Constantine I. ⁘, of Crispus ⁜ and ⁂, and of Constantine II. ⁜. Cavedoni notes ("Ricerche," p. 20) that the holy fathers delighted to think these symbols the *sign of the cross* on the four cardinal points of the

23. *Obv.*—**CRISPVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Crispus to the right with diadem.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. In the exergue **TS. Δ.** (*Thessalonica* 4). Æ.

(British Museum.)

24. *Obv.*—**LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES.** Bust of Licinius II. to the left, laureated.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. In the exergue **TS. A.** (*Thessalonicâ* 1). Æ.

(British Museum.)

25. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the left, with diadem.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. In the exergue **TS. B.** (*Thessalonicâ* 2). Æ.

(British Museum.)

B. (?) 321—323.

26. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, helmeted, with cuirass.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. In the exergue **P. LN.** (*Prima Londinio*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 6.)

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globe and in the intersecting of the meridian circle with the equator (S. Maximus Taurin., "Homil. L. quæ est II. de cruce;" Sedulius, "Carm. Pasch.," l. iii.). Some coins of the kings of the Bosphorus, taken from the Baron de Köhne's work ("Descript. du Mus. de feu le Prince Kotschoubey," St. Petersburg, 1857), are alluded to by Cavedoni ("Appendice," p. 18) as having on them the *cross* and dating about 324. He thinks that the diffusion of Christianity through the provinces of the Bosphorus can be ascertained from the fact that the last positively authenticated coin bearing the image of Astarte is anterior to 270. In 1853 the Count Ouvaroff discovered near Sevastopol the pillar and mosaic pavement of a Christian church built in the fourth century, and near the ruins of a temple of Venus (Köhne, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 447, 448).

27. *Obv.*—**CRISPVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Crispus to the right, helmeted.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. Æ.
(British Museum.)

28. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the left, radiated.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCIT.** Same type. Æ.
(British Museum.)

Of the first series struck at Thessalonica it will be observed that there is no coin of Constantine I.; of the second struck at London there is no coin of Licinius I. That a coin of Constantine I. of this series was issued at Thessalonica is more than probable, as Illyricum, in which Thessalonica was situated, was added to the dominions of Constantine in 314, after the war with Licinius. Why no coin of Licinius I. should occur in this particular branch of the London series is not so clear, as coins of this emperor were probably struck there up to 321. It may be that the new quarrel with Licinius had commenced, and determined Constantine not to strike any of his colleague's coins at London. The date (? 321—323) given to the coins struck at London is that assigned to this series by the late Mr. de Salis.[47]

The coins having the top of the shaft of the *labarum* ending in a cross were admitted in the first instance by Cavedoni,[48] who published from the "Trésor de Numismatique"[49] a gold medallion of Constantine II., with the legend **PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS**, and having in the *exergue* the letters **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*), and alluded to brass coins with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.**

[47] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 60.
[48] "Ricerche," p. 9.
[49] P. 131, Pl. LXII. No. 8.

This example is not specially published by Cohen,[50] and Cavedoni, apparently forgetting that he had mentioned this medallion, came to the conclusion[51] that the supposed cross on the top of the *labarum* was not in reality a cross, but only had the appearance of one, being nothing more than small pellets indicating the extremity of the cords or holders, or other ornaments, at the top of the spear.

Garrucci, in replying to Cavedoni, stated[52] that he had at last seen a coin of Licinius of this description in the collection of Signor Lovatti, without fully describing it; but the omission is supplied in the French translation of this paper,[53] and the coin is one of Licinius I., struck at Aquileia (**AQ. S.** *Aquileia Secunda*), and the form of the cross is given as  .

I have not myself seen any specimen of a coin struck at Aquileia showing such a decided cross as this one. The usual form is †.[54]

It is very difficult to say whether the head of the spear

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[50] Cf. "Méd. Imp.," No. 5. [51] "Appendice," p. 3.

[52] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 252.

[53] "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 107, Pl. III. No. 15.

[54] On coins of Licinius I. and II. struck at Aquileia there appears to be †, and a similar form occurs on coins of Constantine I., Licinius I., Crispus, Constantine II., and Licinius *Cæsars* struck at Treves, on those of Constantine I. and Crispus struck at Lyons, and on a coin of Constantine I. struck at Arles. Specimens of all these coins are in the British Museum. I may add that a similar form occurs for the letter Φ in the words A·I··I·IANOV and CTЄ·I·ANH*φόρου* on the coin of Trajan Decius, alluded to in my "Introduction," but it would be hazardous to affirm that the manner of engraving the letter alludes to the cross (†), as the same treatment of it may be found on coins of the Seleucidæ, of Philadelphia in Lydia, and of Sardes, though in this latter case on a coin of Salonina, who is supposed to have been a Christian (Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 218).

is *meant* to express a cross or not. On some coins the form appears to be ·|·, on others, especially on those of Thessalonica, the form becomes more a cross †.

§ VII. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CONSTANTINE II., AND CONSTANTIUS II.

326—333.

A. With Cross ✠ in Field.

29. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers, helmeted, standing, each holding a spear and leaning on a shield, between them two standards, and between these a cross ✠. In the exergue **AQ. P.** (*Aquileiâ Prima*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 7; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 12, No. 13; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 246, No. 16, Pl. No. 10; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 16, Pl. III. No. 10, who gives the bust as *laureated*. Both these writers quote a coin with the exergual letters **AQ. S.** (*Aquileiâ Secunda*) from Banduri, vol. ii. p. 242, 272; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," *loc. cit.*, says that he has seen a coin in the Museum of Bologna, on which the cross is rounded at the top ✠, but he repeats the form in the "Rev. Num." as ✠. Cf. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 251; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 139, No. 320.)

30. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS [IVN. NOB. C.]** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EX[ERCITVS].** Same type; between the soldiers a cross ✠. In the exergue **AQ. P.** (*Aquileiâ Prima*). Æ

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 8. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 12, No. 14; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 246, No. 17, Pl. No. 11; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 17, Pl. III. No. 11. Garrucci states that he has two examples, one with a rounded top ☩, the other with a *square* top ⌧. Other specimens have **AQ. S.**, Banduri, vol. ii. p. 223. Cf. Borghesi, quoted by Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 2.)

31. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. Between the soldiers a cross ☩. In the exergue **AQ. S.** (*Aquileiâ Secunda*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 9. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 12, No. 15; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 246, No. 18; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 18. Other examples with **AQ. P.** are quoted by Cavedoni and Garrucci from Banduri, vol. ii. p. 389, and Eckhel, "Cat. Mus. Cæs.," p. 492, No. 10. Cf. Borghesi, quoted by Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 2.)

The type of the two soldiers was not introduced till after the death of Crispus. These coins must have been struck before the year 333, because those of Constans *Cæsar* are wanting.

B. With Monogram ☧ in Field.

32. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. Between the standards in the field ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 10. Cavedoni, "Appendice," p. 8; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 21; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 98, No. 21.)

33. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.** Head of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. Between the standards in the field ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*).

(Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 11; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 22; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 98, No. 22, from Banduri, vol. ii. p. 389.)

34. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.** Head of Constantius II. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. Between the standards in the field ☧. In the exergue **S. CONST.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 254, No. 7; Pl. VII. No. 7; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 12; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 23; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 98, No. 23.)

We have here the ☧ for the first time positively distinct on Constantinian coins. This series must have been struck before 333, because the coins of Constans *Cæsar* are wanting.

Feuardent, Cavedoni, and Garrucci would limit the date of issue to 330, supposing that the *exergual* letters **CONST.** refer to *Constantinople*, but it has long been established that these letters should be interpreted *Constantina*, the name given to *Arles* by Constantine the Great, probably about the year 312-313, after the defeat of Maxentius and Maximin, when he improved the city and made a new town on the opposite side of the river.[55] It

[55] It is called by Ausonius ("Claræ Urbes," viii.) *duplex*. For many years I have been trying to find some actual classical authority in confirmation, but without success, and noticing that Mr. George Long, in his article on "Arelate," in

may also be observed that Constantine II., the first son whom Constantine had by his second wife, Fausta, was perhaps born at Arles in 312,[56] and the circumstance might further have induced him to change its name in memory of the event.

It has not been noticed by any numismatist that the letter **X** of the word **EXERCITVS** is in the case of these coins placed *at the top of the coin exactly between the two standards*, whilst in the case of the coins with the same legend and two soldiers, between them the *labarum*, struck at a later date (335—337) [see § XII.], the letter **X** is also placed *in the centre at the top of the labarum*. I am inclined to think that the arrangement is not accidental, but was specially intended by the artist.

Smith's "Dict. of Geography," had made a similar statement, I wrote to ask him for his authority. In his reply Mr. Long referred me to M. D'Anville's "Histoire de la Gaule" (p. 92, Paris, 4to, 1760), in which the following words occur:—"Cette ville étant devenue très puissante Honorius y transféra le siége de la préfecture du prétoire des Gaules qui auparavant étoit à Trèves. La Notice de l'Empire fait mention du trésor déposé à Arles de son hôtel des monoyes; *præpositi thesaurorum Arelatensium procuratoris monetæ Arelatensis*. Constantin voulut que la ville d'Arles portât son nom et elle est appelée *Constantina* dans un réglement émané de l'Empereur Honorius." I then asked Mr. B. V. Head to be kind enough to look through the "Codex Theodosianus," which he has done, but he has been unable to find the "réglement" referred to. The coins, however, of Constantine I. having in the exergue **KONSTA.**, **CONST.**, **CON.**, **COM.**, **KA.**, and **KONOB.**, [illegible] g to Constantina, and *not* to Constantinople ([illegible]. "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 157, 1861; "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, vol. i. pp. 120, 180; J. F. W. de Salis, "Archæological Journal," vol. xxiv.; "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1867, vol. vii., pp. 325, 326).

[56] See § I., under the year 317. The Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," vol. i. pp. 349, 350) gives the date of his birth as August 7, 312, but without stating his authority.

§ VIII. COINS OF HELENA AND THEODORA (RESTORATION).

After 328.

35. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. HELENAE AVG.** Bust of Helena to the right.

Rev.—**PAX PVBLICA.** Peace standing to left holding olive branch in the right hand and a long sceptre in the left. In the field to left ☩. In the exergue **TR. P.** (*Treveris prima*) or **TR. S.** (*Treveris secunda*).

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 11. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 4; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 16, No. 20; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 20; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 98, No. 20, gives the obverse legend as **FL. IVL. HELENA AVG.**, which is clearly an error.)

36. *Obv.*—**FL. MAX. THEODORAE AVG.** Bust of Theodora to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**PIETAS ROMANA.** Piety standing carrying an infant. In the field to left ☩. In the exergue **TR. P.** or **TR. S.** Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 12. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 1, gives the obverse legend as **FL. MAX. THEODORA AVG.**, which is incorrect. Neither Cavedoni nor Garrucci allude to this coin.)

The coin of Helena[57] has been thought by Cavedoni[58]

[57] The writer of the article "Helena" in Smith's "Dict. of Biography" says that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to decide which coins belong to Helena, the wife of Constantius Chlorus, which to Helena the wife of Crispus, and which to Helena the wife of the Emperor Julian; but there is not much doubt that all the coins, both gold and brass, *bearing the name of Helena* are to be attributed to Helena the wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great (Baron Marchant, "Lettres," xvii.; C. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1843, p. 88; Dr. Scott, "Num. Chron.," O.S., vol. xv. p. 188; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 114).

[58] "Ricerche," p. 16; cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*

to have been struck about the year 326, when Helena is supposed to have discovered the cross of our Saviour, and he quotes in proof of this opinion a passage from St. Ambrose;[59] but, without entering into the question of the "legend" of the finding of the cross,[60] it may be mentioned that Eusebius, who gives an account of Helena's visit to the Holy Sepulchre, says nothing about the discovery of the cross, a point which he was not at all likely to have omitted, had such been really the case.[61] But the real fact is that both the coins of Helena and Theodora above described are "restoration coins," and struck *after their death* by Constantine the Great, and therefore after 328. It will be noticed that the legend is in the *dative* case, and that neither of them bear the title of *Diva*, as they were Christians.[62]

It has been insinuated that Helena first embraced the Christian faith and gave her son a Christian education,[63] but Eusebius positively asserts that she owed her knowledge of Christianity to Constantine.[64] She is called by Eusebius[65] *βασιλὶς ἡ θεοσεβεστάτη* and *θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως*

[59] "De Obitu Theodosii," 47, 48.

[60] Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* "Cross, finding of."

[61] "Vit. Const.," iii. c. 43.

[62] Madden, "Handbook of Rom. Num.," p. 141. This remark must not be taken as absolute, for the sons of Constantine I. struck coins after his death giving him the epithet of *Divus* (see § XIII., "Consecration Coins of Constantine I.").

[63] Theodoret, i. c. 18; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 3, *note* 10.

[64] "Vit. Const.," iii. c. 47.

[65] "Vit. Const.," iii. c. 43. The epithet *θεοσεβεστάτη* was not only applied to Christians, but was frequently used of pagans, even by ecclesiastical writers. Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," vi. c. 21) calls Mamæa, the mother of Severus Alexander, a "very pious woman" (*γυνὴ θεοσεβεστάτη*), and she was in all probability a Christian, whilst Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," vii. c. 23) calls Gallienus *ὁσιώτερος*

θεοφιλὴς μήτηρ, and many inscriptions give her the titles of *piissima, venerabilis,* and *clementissima.*[66]

There are certain coins bearing the legends **HELENA N.F.** and **FAVSTA N.F.** which have been considered to belong to the *mother* and *wife* of Constantine I. To these attributions Mr. C. W. King objects.[67] He argues that the title *Nobilissima femina* is the feminine equivalent of *Nobilissimus Cæsar,* and that consequently such a title would never have belonged to Constantine's mother, who remained in private life till created *Augusta* by her son, and that she was at no time the wife of a *Cæsar;* whilst as regards Fausta, she was an *Augusta* from the first, for her father Maximian, upon giving her in marriage to Constantine, raised him at the same time to the rank of an *Augustus.* And as to the type of the star on these coins, which also occurs upon the "Populus Romanus" coins (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 2), and on silver coins of Gallus (Cohen, Nos. 16—18), and Julian (Cohen, Nos. 46—48), he is of opinion that all these coins were issued at the same time, and that consequently the title of *Nobilissima femina* belongs to *Helena, the wife of Julian, and daughter of Constantine,* whilst the similar coins of Fausta (though some [Banduri] have supposed her to be the wife of Constantius II. before his marriage with Eusebia), should be assigned to some lady *who may have been the wife of one of the cousins of Julian,* or, according to the most satisfactory explanation quoted by Banduri, to the *sister of Gallus and Julian,* mentioned by the latter

and φιλοθεώτερος, and Josephus ("Antiq.," xx. 8, 11) names the wicked Poppæa, wife of Nero, as θεοσεβὴς (De Witte, "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. p. 166, Paris, 1853; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 179).

[66] Clinton, F. R., vol. ii. p. 81.

[67] "Early Christ. Num.," pp. 36—39, 304.

in his Epistles to the Athenians. On this supposition there are coins of Julian, his wife, his brother, and his sister all issued at one and the same time (probably that of Julian's elevation to the rank of *Cæsar*), and stamped with the same auspicious device—a star.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the theories of the classification of the coins bearing the names of *Helena* and *Fausta*, which may be found in Eckhel[68] and Marchant,[69] but it seems to me that Mr. King's arguments will not bear strict examination.

First, as to the "satisfactory explanation" by Banduri, I have been unable (as Mr. King gives no reference), even with the help of Mr. Grueber of the British Museum, to find out where he makes such a statement, or to verify the passage where Julian in his Epistles speaks of *Fausta as a sister*. Secondly, was she the sister of Julian or the sister of Gallus, who themselves were half-brothers? It is true that Dr. Plate, in his genealogical tree of the Constantine family,[70] gives a daughter (nameless) married to Constantius, and also a son (nameless) killed by Constantius in 341, but at the same time he makes these two, together with Gallus and Julian, sons of *one mother*, Basilina, whereas *Gallus* was the son of *Galla*, and *Julian* was the son of *Basilina*.[71]

But even if Julian does mention *a sister* in his Epistles to the Athenians, written in 361, I am inclined to think

[68] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. pp. 33, 98, 102, 118, 142.

[69] "Lettres Numismatiques," xvii.; cf. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1843; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. v. p. 588.

[70] Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," vol. i. p. 832.

[71] See § I., Genealogical Table. Tillemont ("Hist. des Emp.," vol. iv. p. 264) says that Constantius II. was married to a daughter of Julius Constantius and *Galla*, and that she was certainly alive when he killed the father and the brother; in this case she was *half-sister* to Julian.

that he is not alluding to any *real sister*, but to Eusebia, the second wife of Constantius II., to whom he was married in 353, who loved Julian with a *sister's love*, and to whom he owed his future advancement.

Shortly after Constantine's elevation to the purple he recalled his mother (who had been set aside by his father on his marriage with Theodora), and I am of opinion that either before Fausta became his wife, or on the occasion of his marriage in 307, he issued the coins with the legends and titles **FAVSTA N.F.** (*Nobilissima femina*), and **HELENA N.F.** (*Nobilissima femina*),[72] and it may further be observed that Constantine I., after the death of his father Constantius Chlorus in 306, was at first recognised only as *Cæsar* by Galerius the Senior Emperor.[73] Constantine always treated his mother with the highest respect, and after his marriage gave her the title of *Augusta*, striking gold and brass coins in her honour with that title.[74]

§ IX. COINS OF CONSTANTINOPOLIS AND URBS ROMA.

After 330.

37. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINOPOLIS.** Bust of the city, helmeted, to the left, with sceptre.

Rev.—No legend. Victory, with wings extended, walking to the left, holding a spear in the right hand, and resting the left on a shield. In the field to the left ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

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[72] Madden, "Handb. of Rom. Num.," pp. 168, 169, Pl. IV. No. 5; Pl. V. No. 2. On her rare silver coins the legend is in full, **FAVSTAE NOBILISSIMAE FEMINAE.**

[73] Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 152; § I., under the year 306.

[74] The *gold* coins are specially alluded to by Eusebius ("Vit. Const.," iii. c. 47): χρυσοῖς τε νομίσμασι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκτυποῦσθαι εἰκόνα. Cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 2.

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 13. Another specimen with **S. CONST.** in the exergue is in the Museum. This latter specimen has been published by Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, No. 3, Pl. VII. No. 3, and by Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 28; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 100, No. 28, Pl. III. No. 12. Garrucci, *op. cit.* No. 27, gives another specimen from Tanini, p. 278, with an equilateral cross +; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 12, No. 16.)

38. *Obv.*—[**VRBS**] **ROMA.** Bust of the city, helmeted, to the left.

Rev.—No legend. Wolf suckling twins; above, the monogram ☧ between two stars with eight rays. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantina*). *Æ.*

(British Museum, Pl. II. No. 14. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd. ed., p. 248, No. 29, Pl. No. 12; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 100, No. 29, Pl. III. No. 13. Eckhel, "Cat. Mus. Cæs.," p. 480, No. 288, has described a similar piece with the letters **M. OST.** in the exergue; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 13, No. 17.)

These types were introduced at the time of the dedication of Constantinople in 330. The pieces above described were not, however, issued at Constantinople, but at Arles (*Constantina*).

The stars on either side of the monogram on the coin with **VRBS ROMA** recall the words of Philostorgius, about "the holy sign surrounded by stars," to which I have already alluded.[59]

As regards the piece with the exergual letters **M. OST.** (*Moneta Ostiæ*) I should be inclined to doubt if they have been read correctly, for, after the defeat of Maxentius

[59] See under III. "Coins of Constantine I., Crispus, and Constantine II., ? 317–323."

in 312, Constantine transferred the mint of Ostia to Rome.[76]

§ X. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND CONSTANTINE II.

After 330.



39. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Head of Constantine I. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**SPES PVBLIC**[**A** in field under **SPES**]. The *labarum* on which three globules; on the top of the staff ☧; the extremity of the staff piercing a serpent. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*). Æ.

(From the Museum of Berlin, for the impression of which I am indebted to Dr. J. Friedlaender. Another specimen, but not from the same die, is in the museum of the Prince Christian von Waldeck, and has been published and engraved by Friedlaender in the "Blättern für Münzkunde," vol. i. p. 149, Pl. VI. No. 6, Berlin, 1863. This piece has also the exergual letters **CONS.** Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 9, No. 5; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 30; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 100, No. 30; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 483, from *Tanini*, and "Suppl.," p. 376, from *Friedlaender, Musée Waldeck.*)

A specimen of this extremely rare and interesting coin, which has been from time to time published by different writers,[77] was seen in the cabinet of the Prince de Waldeck

[76] F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 47; 1865, vol. v. p. 111.

[77] Baronius, "Ann.," 325, No. ccvi.; Gretzer, "De Cruce,"

by Eckhel, and was recognised by him as a genuine coin.[78] The drawings that are usually given of it, such as that reproduced after Baronius by Aringhi,[79] and again engraved in Martigny,[80] are of such a size as to lead most numismatists to infer that the coin was false. But there is no doubt that at least *two* genuine specimens are in existence—that at Berlin, and the example of the Prince de Waldeck.[81]



40. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Head of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**SPES PVBLIC[A** in field under **SPES**]. The *labarum* on which three globules; on the top of the staff ☧; the extremity of the staff piercing a serpent. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*). Æ.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis. Unpublished.)

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iii. c. 5; Banduri, vol. ii. pp. 213, 300; Ducange, "Fam. Byz.," p. 113; Tanini, p. 275; Oisclius, Pl. LIV., No. 11, &c.

[78] "*Integerrimum* vidi in illustri museo principis de Waldeck scripto infra **CONS**" (Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 88.) The Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," vol. i. p. 649) states that Eckhel speaks of this coin as "a probable forgery," which is not the case.

[79] "Roma Sotteranea," vol. ii. p. 705. Roma. 1651—1659.

[80] "Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes," *s. v.* Serpent. The Abbé Martigny here speaks of a coin of Constantine I. and of *his son Constantius II.*, of this type, and refers to the articles "Numismatique" and "Draconarius." In the former there is no mention at all of this coin, and in the latter he quotes a coin of *Constantine II.*, as well as a coin of his father, to which he further alludes in the article "Monogramme de Christ." He is wrong in attributing a specimen of this coin to *Constantius II.*—at least as far as I know.

[81] Since writing the above, Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent have kindly sent me a specimen cast of this rare coin; but I am unable to say in what collection this example may be found.

This rare little coin—of the smallest size, smaller even than the similar piece of Constantine I.—which I have introduced here, instead of in its proper chronological place, for better illustration, is in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who most kindly sent it to me to look at. It was formerly in the Wigan collection, and is the first and only known example of this type of Constantine II., unless the piece described and engraved by Gaillard with the obverse legend **CONSTANTINVS AVG.** be another specimen.[82]

I have spoken of it as unpublished: it virtually is so, but to be correct I should add that it has been laid before the public, and an imperfect engraving given of it *twice* the actual size by Mr. C. W. King,[83] who thus describes it:—"Emblazoned on the banner, the practised and (what is greatly to the present purpose) *unprejudiced* eye of my draughtsman has distinguished the word **DEO** in what, upon the previously published specimen, appeared only three unmeaning circles. The appositeness of this inscription to the sense of the device gives the idea a still further claim to the praise I have already bestowed upon it before this very interesting discovery was made. The head on the obverse presents the boyish not to be mistaken features of Constantine II., with title **CONSTANTINVS AVG.**"

[82] "Descript. des Monnaies de J. Garcia de la Torre," p. 304, No. 4929, Pl. X. No. 5. Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 1st ed., Nos. 57, 58) appears to have thought this to be a coin of Constantine II., from the *youthful appearance of the head;* but such arguments are *primâ facie* generally fallacious (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. pp. 105, 106; Cavedoni, "Appendice," p. 7, *note*). He does not, however, repeat his suggestion in his second edition.

[83] "Early Christian Numismatics," pp. xvi., xxiii., and 25, *note;* engraved on title-page.

The italics are Mr. King's, and I must confess my extreme astonishment that such a statement could ever have been made by any one calling himself a numismatist.[84] The supposed word **DEO** turns out on examination to be nothing more than the *three globules or pellets*, as on the coin of his father, which probably represent gems or other ornaments of the *labarum*, or perhaps *three stars*, as on the coins with the legend **BEATA TRANQVILLITAS** (see § VI. *note* 46).

As to the letter **A** in the field, Mr. King writes, "Probably a mint-mark, for which no room was left in the exergue;" but this letter Mr. King failed to see was the concluding one of the word **PVBLIC—A.**

Mr. Feuardent's opinion as to the date of its issue (quoted by Mr. King) is that it was coined upon the elevation of Constantine II. to the dignity of *Augustus* in *the last days of his father's life-time.*

Though on his death-bed Constantine I. made his will and appointed his three sons his heirs to the empire,[85] it does not appear that they received the title of *Augusti* till so declared by the soldiers *immediately after the death of their father.*[86]

At the division of the empire, which was ratified in a

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[84] And yet at p. 52 of the same work Mr. King, alluding to a coin of Crispus, speaks of an "indistinct symbol such as a Victoriola, converted into the Christian badge by *the fancy of the draughtsman.*" Here the italics are mine.

[85] Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 39; cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 34; Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 63.

[86] "Ωσπερ δ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας κρειττόνος, τὰ πανταχοῦ στρατόπεδα τὸν βασιλέως πυθόμενα θάνατον, μιᾶς ἐκράτει γνώμης, ὡσανεὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, μηδένα γνωρίζειν ἕτερον, ἢ μόνους τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δ' ἠξίουν μὴ Καίσαρας· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη τοὺς ἅπαντας χρηματίζειν Ἀυγούστους. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 68; cf. c. 69.

personal interview of the three brothers, it is recorded that "Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained with a certain pre-eminence of rank the *possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father,*"[87] in addition to Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana.

It is, therefore, most probable that Constantine II. reproduced at Constantinople in 337 or 338 the type of the "public hope" that his father had caused to be issued in 330 on the foundation of the new city.

One of the most remarkable features of these coins is their exergual letters **CONS.** There is no other interpretation to be put upon them than *Constantinopoli*, and the coin of Constantine I. was therefore probably struck, as I have stated, in 330. This being the case, I may observe that these coins are the only examples (as far as I am aware) of coins of Constantine I. and his son bearing *positive* Christian emblems having been issued at the mint of Constantinople.[88]

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[87] Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. ii. p. 366, who adds in a *note* (No. 53), "The reign of the eldest brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the Alexandrian Chronicle." I have been unable to verify this statement.

[88] On certain coins of Constantine I., struck at Constantinople, his head bears the *nimbus* (see § XVII., "Coins of Constantine I. and his Family, with the *Nimbus*"), whilst on the magnificent gold medallion of Constantius II. *Cæsar*, also struck at Constantinople, which is preserved in the Musée de Vienne (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 21, Pl. VIII.), and weighing about 3,920 grains, or 56 *solidi*, Constantine I. is represented standing between his two sons, Constantine II. and Constans, whilst *a hand from heaven crowns him with a wreath.* This piece must have been issued between the years 323 and 337, as Constantius II. is *Cæsar*. Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 114) thinks it was probably struck a little before the death of Constantine I. in 337, in connection with the preparation for war with Persia; but perhaps Constantius II. struck it on

The type of these pieces and the inscription indicate how the "public hope"[89] was centered in the triumph of the Christian religion over the adversary of mankind—"the great *dragon*, that old *serpent* called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2), and Eusebius tells us how Constantine I. had a picture painted of the dragon[90]—the flying serpent—beneath his own and his children's feet, pierced through the middle with a dart, and cast into the depths of the sea.[91]

The serpent or dragon, as a distinctive type, is not of common occurrence on Roman coins.[92] On some silver

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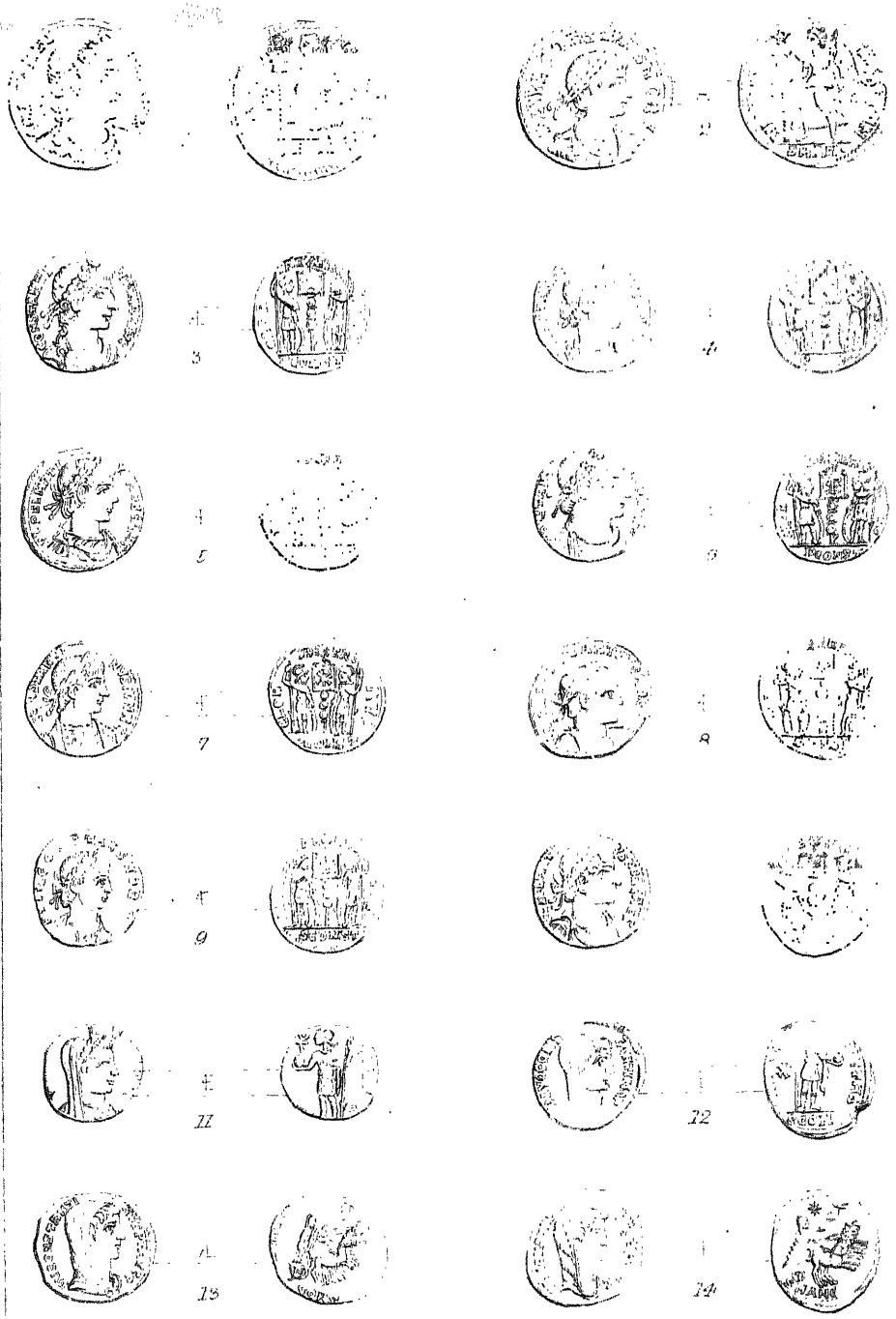
his marriage in 336 (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 49). There is also the gold medallion of Constantine II. with *the spear-head ending in a cross* and exergual letters **CONS.** See § VI., "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross," and § XIII., "Consecration Coins of Constantine I," *note* 117.

[89] The "public hope" expressed on the coin is doubtless that well-grounded *hope of security* to which Constantine, by the Divine power, had raised each nation of the world, as he himself wrote to Sapor, king of Persia (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 9), and that *heavenly hope* which he considered to be the leading principle of people's lives (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 29); but the legend is by no means a new one, occurring as it does from the time of Commodus to that of Constantine (Cohen, "Suppl.," p. 484).

[90] Constantine thanked God in a letter to Eusebius that liberty had been restored, and *that dragon* driven from the administration of public affairs (*καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως, τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγίστου προνοίᾳ*, "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 46), alluding to Licinius, elsewhere called by Constantine "the common enemy of mankind" (*τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρὸν*, "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 66; cf. iii. c. 30).

[91] *Διὸ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποσὶ, βέλει πεπαρμένον κατὰ μέσου τοῦ κύτους, βυθοῖς τε θαλάσσης ἀπερρίμμενον, διὰ τῆς κηροχύτου γραφῆς ἐδείκνυ τοῖς πᾶσι τὸν δράκοντα.* "Vit. Const.," iii. c. 3. The *κηροχύτου γραφῆς* (cf. "Vit. Const.," i. c. 3) signifies encaustic painting by means of melted wax (see Heinichen's note *ad loc*; cf. Euseb., "Const. Orat. ad Sanctor. Cœtum," c. 20).

[92] The serpent, however, occurs frequently on Roman coins



J.J. Leu. del. et lith.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS
ON COINS OF CONSTANTINE I ETC.
PLATE III

and brass coins of Philip I., described by Eckhel,[93] with the legend **TRANQVILLITAS AVGG.**, the female figure is said to hold a *draco bipes*, a type likewise occurring on a coin of Tacitus.[94] The former is given by Cohen (No. 102), but the female is described as holding *un capricorne?* though he notices in his "Supplement"[95] that, according to Cavedoni, the object is *un dragon bipède;* the latter is not published by Cohen, unless the coin on which the female is described as holding *un dauphin*, from the "Musée de Vienne," is meant to be the same piece. It may again be found on a rare gold medallion of Constantius II. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 7), with the legend **DEBELLATOR HOSTIVM**, and the type Constantius galloping to the right; under the horse a *serpent*. In the exergue **S. M. MED** (*Signata Moneta Mediolano*). On the coins of Valentinian III. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 11—13), Petronius Maximus (Cohen, No. 1), Majorian (Cohen, No. 1), Libius Severus (Cohen, No. 6), and Anthemius (Cohen, No. 13), the Emperors are represented placing the right foot on a *serpent with a human head* (cf. Cohen, "Suppl.," pp. 411, 412); and on a gold coin of Honorius, struck at Ravenna, the Emperor, crowned by a hand from heaven, is represented holding a spear, surmounted by ☧, on the head of an animal which appears like *a lion with a tail ending in a serpent's or dragon's head.*[96]

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as the companion of *Salus* (Ὑγίεια), and on a medallion of Faustina Senior Pallas is accompanied by the serpent, and this reptile may be often found on the coins of Athens, and on ancient works of art in connection with this goddess ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1870, vol. x. p. 119).

[93] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 328.

[94] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 497.

[95] P. 251.

[96] This coin is in the collection of Dr. John Evans, to whom I

The dragon was one of the military symbols of the cohorts,[97] and was used frequently by the legions at the time of Trajan, having been adopted from the Parthians.[98] Gallienus, in celebrating the *decennalia* in 263, used the dragon-marked banners in his grand procession,[99] and the troops of the Emperor Constantius II., on his visit to Rome in 357, employed in his triumphal march the dragon standards.[100]

The spear-head on these coins ends in the *monogram of Christ;* on those struck at Thessalonica, Aquileia, and London, the spear-head ends in a *cross*.[101]

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am indebted for an impression. A similar piece, but the animal simply described as "a lion," is published by Cohen, No. 20; see § XXV. It will be remembered that the Chimæra had the fore part of her body a *lion*, and the hind part a *dragon*, while the middle was a goat (Hom. "Il.," vi. 180; xvi. 328). The cross ☧ crushing and conquering Satan, the old Serpent, is represented on an engraved stone or seal of the earliest epoch. It bears the word **SALVS**, and is accompanied by two doves and the letters **A** and Ω (Didron, "Christ. Icon.," vol. i. p. 396; see § XXI.).

[97] "Primum signum totius legionis est aquila, quam aquilifer portat. *Dracones* etiam per singulas cohortes à *draconariis* feruntur ad prœlium" (Vegetius, "De Re Mil.," ii. c. 13). The eagle (*Aquila*) was carried by the legion, hence a legion was frequently called *Aquila;* whilst the cohort had a different standard—"atque una tres *aquilas* et *signa* cohortium locant" (Tac. "Ann.," i. 18).

[98] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 329; vol. viii. p. 494; *Persici dracones*, Vopisc., "In Aurel.," 28.

[99] "Vexilla centena et prœter ea quæ collegiorum erant, *dracones*, et signa templorum omniumque legionum ibant" (Treb. Poll., "In Gall.," 8).

[100] Amm. Marcell., xvi. c. 10. The dragon (*draco*) was woven on a square piece of cloth (*textilis anguis*, Sidon. Apoll., "Carm.," v. 409) elevated on a gilt staff, to which a cross-bar was adapted for the purpose (Smith, "Dict. of Antiq.," *s. v. Signa Militaria*).

[101] See under § VI., "Coins of Constantine I. with Spear-head ending in a Cross."

§ XI. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CONSTANTIUS II., AND CONSTANS.

333—335.

41. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG.** Victory walking to the left holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left ☩. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ*). *N.*

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 1. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 7, No. 1; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 24; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 99, No. 24; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 112, No. 123, from *Caylus*.)

42. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VICTORIA CAESAR. NN.** Victory walking to the left holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left a star with *seven* rays, ✳, but probably erroneously drawn for one of eight. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ*). *N.*

(Sabatier, "Icon. Rom. Imp.," Pl. XCVI. No. 8; "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 56, but incorrectly attributed to *Constantius Gallus*.[102] Not published by Cohen. I do not know where this coin now is.)

43. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C.** Bust of Constans to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

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[102] Among the reasons for assigning this coin to Constantius II. I may observe that the bust or head on the coins of Constantius Gallus is *never* laureated, but always bare (Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 61; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 274).

Rev.—**VICTORIA CAESAR. NN.** Victory walking to the left, holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left a star with eight rays ✳. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ*). *Æ.*

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 2. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 7, No. 2; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 25; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 99, No. 25; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 255, No. 65.)

These gold coins were in all probability issued about the same time. They cannot have been struck before 333, in which year Constans was made *Cæsar*, and perhaps not till 335, when Constantine celebrated his *tricennalia*, and divided the empire between his sons and nephews. The mint of Antioch was in the dominion of Constantius II.

The form ✠, instead of ✳, is that specially employed in the East.

The letters **LXXII.** signify that 72 *solidi* were coined to the pound, Constantine I. having reduced the *aureus* about the year 312.[103]

The coin of Constans was formerly in the collection of M. Dupré, and as such was published by M. Chabouillet,[104] who, however, gives the star as ✳, which is repeated by Cavedoni and Garrucci. It eventually passed into the hands of Mr. Wigan, who exchanged it with Mr. de Salis, from whom it came to the British Museum.[105] The star is, as the plate shows, one with *eight rays*.

It was at Antioch that the name of Χριστιανός was first

[103] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. iii. p. 64.

[104] "Rev. Num.," 1849, p. 10.

[105] F. W. Madden, "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," 1861, p. 169, Pl. V. No. 5.

used[106] about the year 44. Suidas and Malalas[107] say that the name arose under Evodius at Antioch, who was appointed by Peter as his successor in 45.[108]

§ XII. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS II., CONSTANS, AND DELMATIUS.

335—337.

A. WITH CROSS ☧ ON LABARUM.

44. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem, ornamented with jewels and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers standing holding spear and leaning on shield; between them the *labarum* on which ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*—Arles). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 3.)

I must here mention that this coin has been attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II., but a comparison with the head of Constantine II. on the next coin, as also on pieces struck at Lyons and Siscia, when he became *Augustus*, make it doubtful if this attribution can be accepted (see § XX.). Mr. Grueber is also of this opinion.

45. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 4.)

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[106] "The disciples were called *Christians* first in Antioch"—χρηματίσαι τε πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς, Acts xi. 26. The word "Christian" only occurs in two other passages of the New Testament (Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Peter iv. 16).

[107] "Chronograph," x.

[108] Jerome, "Chron.," p. 429; Rev. F. W. Farrar, Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," new ed., *s. v.* Christian.

46. *Obv.*—**FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Delmatius to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧. In the exergue **S. CONST.** Æ.

(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 5.)

The coins of Constantius II. and of Constans are not in the British Museum, but were no doubt issued with this series.

B. With ☧ on Labarum.

47. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem ornamented with jewels and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers standing holding spear and leaning on a shield; between them the *labarum* on which ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 6. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, No. 1, Pl. VII. No. 1; Cavedoni, "Ricercho," p. 11, No. 6; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 31; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 101, No. 31.)

This coin was attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II. *Augustus*, but with even less reason than in the former case.

48. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 7. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, No. 4, Pl. VII. No. 4; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 7; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 32; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 101, No. 32.)

49. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ☧. In the exergue **S. CONST.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 8. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 254, No. 6, Pl. VII. No. 6; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 8; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 33; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 33.)

50. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C.** Bust of Constans to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ☧. In the exergue **S. CONST.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 9. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 34; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 34; Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 254, No. 5, Pl. VII. No. 5, with **P. CONST.**; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 9; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 266, No. 132.)

51. *Obv.*—**FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Delmatius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ☧. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 10. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 10; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 35; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 35; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 210, No. 8; cf. No. 9. Garrucci quotes other examples with **S. CONST.**)

These two series of coins with the *labarum* adorned with the cross and the monogram of Christ were not issued before 335, as the type is found on coins of Delmatius, who was made *Cæsar* in this year, and it continues to the death of Constantine I. in 337. [See § VII.]

§ XIII. CONSECRATION COINS OF CONSTANTINE I.

337—338.

52. *Obv.*—[**DIVO CONS**]**TANTINO** [**P**]. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, veiled.

Rev.—[**AETERNA**] (sometimes **AETRNA**, *sic*) **PIETAS**. Constantine standing to the left holding globe and spear; above the globe ⊕; in the exergue [? **P. LG.**, *Prima Lugduno*]. Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 11.)

53. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend. Constantine standing to the right, holding spear and globe; above the globe ⊕; in the exergue **P. LG.** (*Prima Lugduno*). Æ.

(British Museum.)

54. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend. Constantine standing to the right holding spear and globe; above the globe ☧; in the exergue [? **P. LG.** or **S. CON.**]. Æ.

(British Museum.)

55. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—**AETERNA PIETAS.** Constantine standing to the right, holding spear and globe; in the field to right below the globe ✕; in the exergue **P. CON.** (*Prima Constantinâ*); sometimes **P. CONST.** Æ.

(British Museum.)

56. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—**AETERNA PIETAS.** Constantine standing to the right holding spear and globe. In the field to left ✕; in the exergue **S. CON.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 12.)

These coins are very imperfectly described by Cave-

doni,[109] by Garrucci,[110] and by Cohen,[111] who omits altogether the letter **P.** (*Patri*) on the obverse.

They must have been issued shortly after the death of Constantine in 337, or at latest in 338.

Cavedoni thinks[112] that the figure on the reverse is a representation of the statue of Constantine mentioned by Zonaras, and to which I have alluded under § V., "Coins with the *Mars Conservator* and *Sol Invictus* types."

Other consecration coins of Constantine were struck by his sons, having on the obverse the legend **DV.** [*Divus*] **CONSTANTINVS AVG.** or **DV. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG.** (*Pater Augustorum*),[113] and on the reverse

[109] "Ricerche," p. 18.

[110] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., pp. 249, 250, Nos. 36 and 37; "Rev. Num.," 1866, pp. 102, 103, Nos. 36 and 37.

[111] "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 188, 189. [112] "Disamina," p. 222.

[113] With respect to the letters **DV.** Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 92) threw out the suggestion that they might stand for *Divus Victor*, as we know from Eusebius that Constantine I. had this title, though the coins with **VICTOR** are now attributed to Constantine II. (see § I. under A.D. 323, *note* 97); but on the strength of an inscription which he quotes, commencing **DIVO AC VENERABILI**, he inclined to explain them *Divus Venerabilis*. As there are, however, other coins with the word **DIV.** or **DIVO** in full, it seems preferable to consider these letters as standing for **Di Vus**. The letters **PTAVGG** are explained by Eckhel as certainly **P***ater* **T***rium* **AVGG***ustorum*; but, as Cohen has observed ("Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 170), for this reading it would be necessary to have three **G**s. The system of consecration seems to have obtained even after the time of Constantine among his Christian successors. Constantius II. "meruit inter *divos* referri" (Eutrop., x. 15; cf. "*divus* Constantius," Mamertinus, "Grat. Act. Jul. Aug.," c. 3); Jovian "benignitate principum qui ei successerunt inter *divos* relatus est" (Eutrop., x. 18; cf. "*Div.* Fl. Joviano triumfatori semper Aug.," Gruter, p. 285; Clinton, F.R., vol. ii. p. 113); Valentinian I. was consecrated by his son Gratian, "hujus vero laudis locupletissimum testimonium est pater *divinis honoribus* consecratus" (Ausonius, "Ad Grat. Act.," c. 8); to which may be added the name of Valentinian III.,

IVST. VEN. MEM. (*Justa Venerandæ Memoriæ*),[114] **IVST. VENERAN.**, or **VN. MR.** (*Venerandæ Memoriæ*),[115] and notably those of which the following is a description:—

57. *Obv.*—**DV** (rarely **DIV.**) **CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG.** or **DIVO CONSTANTINO AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, veiled.

Rev.—No legend. Constantine in a quadriga galloping to the right, holding his hand to another hand which descends from heaven to receive it. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*) or **S. M. AN. Є.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiæ* 5), or other mint-marks.[116] (Cohen, Nos. 568, 569). Æ.

(Pl. III. Nos. 13, 14.)

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as appears from a marble of Chiusi, in Tuscany, published by Cavedoni ("Cimit. Chius.," p. 45; Modena, 1853). No coins, however, bearing the title *divus* are known of any of these Emperors.

[114] ". . . . . nimirum *soluta*, quo nomine antiqui intellexere pias exequias mortuis impensas"—the opinion of Bimard, quoted by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 93). I do not understand Cavedoni's note ("Ricerche," p. 19, *note*) on the interpretation of these legends.

[115] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 353, 354, 549; "Suppl.," No. 27. The word **MEMORIAE** occurs upon the coins of Agrippina I. and Domitilla, and originally was not a direct mark of consecration, but only a sign of affection and honour towards the deceased (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 465). But the inscription **MEMORIAE AETERNAE** occurring upon the coins of Claudius Gothicus (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 131—134), Maximian Hercules (Cohen, Nos. 323—325), Constantius Chlorus (Cohen, Nos. 188—191), and Romulus (Cohen, Nos. 1—11) was a formula of consecration. On some of the coins of *Divus* Constantius Chlorus the legend is **MEM.**, or **MEMORIA DIVI CONSTANTI** (Cohen, Nos. 178—181), or else **MEMORIA FELIX** (Cohen, Nos. 182—187; cf. F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 265). It afterwards became a Christian formula (Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," *s. v.* Confessio).

[116] Mr. King ("Early Christ. Num.," p. 53) speaks of these coins as issued at "Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage alone,"

This coinage is minutely and especially described by Eusebius as representing Constantine in the act of ascending to heaven.[117]

On some specimens of these coins there is a *star* above the head of the Emperor (though not mentioned by Cohen), which is doubtless the comet alluded to by Eutropius as appearing after his death,[118] and reminds us of the *stella crinita*, which blazed for seven days together after the death of Julius Cæsar,[119] and which is represented on his coins.[120]

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a statement repeated by the Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," p. 649); but I doubted about *Carthage*, and Mr. Grueber confirms this, as there are no coins of Carthage of so late a date. These pieces were coined at Heracleia, Alexandria, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, and Antioch.

[117] Ἤδη δὲ καὶ νομίσμασιν ἐνεχαράττοντο τύποι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἐντυποῦντες τὸν μακάριον, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν σχήματι, θατέρου δὲ μέρους ἐφ' ἅρματι τεθρίππῳ ἡνιόχου τρόπον, ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς ἄνωθεν ἐκτεινομένης αὐτῷ χειρὸς ἀναλαμβανόμενον. "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 73. On the word σχήματι see Heinichen's note, who thinks it ought to be expunged. This type was in all probability suggested by the Biblical account of Elijah taken up to heaven in a chariot of fire and horses of fire (2 Kings ii. 11; cf. vi. 17). Eusebius ("De Laud. Const.," c. 10) speaks of the Almighty King *extending his right hand from above*, and giving Constantine I. victory over all his enemies, and establishing his kingdom for many years. On a gold medallion of Constantius II., *Cæsar*, to which I have previously referred (§ X. *note* 88) a *hand from heaven* is crowning Constantine I. with a wreath.

[118] "Denunciata mors ejus etiam per *crinitam stellam* quæ inusitatæ magnitudinis aliquamdiu fulsit; eam Græci *Cometam* vocant."—"Hist.," x. 8.

[119] "*Stella crinita* per septem dies continuos fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam; creditumque est, animam esse Cæsaris in cœlum recepti; et hac de causâ simulacro ejus in vertice additur *stella*."—Suet., "Jul. Cæs.," 88; cf. Plin. "N. H.," ii. c. 25; Dion Cass., xlv. 7; Plut., "Cæs.," 69.

[120] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 20, 21. The star was originally a Pagan symbol, but Pagan symbols for long after the time of Constantine were mingled with Christian ones. I

§ XIV. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND II. WITH CROSS, NOT PREVIOUSLY ALLUDED TO.

58. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Soldier standing facing, looking to the right, leaning on a spear and a shield; in the field to left a *cross*. *N*.

(Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 9, No. 3, from Tanini, "Suppl. ad Bandur.," vol. ii. p. 264; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 19; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 19; and Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 17, from the same author.)

A similar type exists in brass, described by Cohen (No. 321) as "Constantine standing," but there is no mention of the cross.

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may mention as an example the phœnix, occurring first on the gold consecration coins of Trajan as a symbol of Eternity (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 294; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, vol. i. p. 95, Pl. IV. No. 6; Cohen, "Suppl.," No. 30. See under § XVII. "Coins of Constantine I. with the *nimbus*"); on a gold coin of Hadrian, representing Trajan (?) holding a phœnix on a globe within an oval ("the zodiac," Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 49; Cohen, No. 471); on an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius with the legend **AIΩN** (*æternitas*, Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 69), and again re-appearing on the brass medallions of Constantine I., with the legend **GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAES.**, and struck after 315, as they bear the title of **MAX**. (Cohen, No. 164), on the brass coins of Constantius II. and Constans when *Augusti*, with the legend **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO**, and the type, the Emperor standing holding the phœnix on a globe, and the *labarum* with ☧ (Cohen, Constantius II., "Méd.," No. 159; Nos. 215, 216; Constans, Nos. 112—115). Sometimes the phœnix occurs *alone* as a type with the same legend (Constantius II., Nos. 233, 234; Constans, Nos. 122, 123). [See § XX.] Eusebius ("Vit. Const.," iv. c. 72) alludes to the phœnix, but will not compare Constantine I. to that bird, but rather to our Saviour.

It is not easy to fix the period when this coin was struck, more especially as the form of the cross is not given. Its issue may perhaps be approximately fixed between 326 and 333.[121]

59. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**PAX. AVGVSTORVM.** Constantine standing to the left in military dress, holding a standard ornamented with the *cross*. In the exergue **TES.** (*Thessalonicæ*). *Æ*.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 76, from the *Musée de Vienne*.)

The date of issue of this piece also cannot be defined with certainty. It does not bear the title of **MAX.** and would therefore seem to have been struck previous to 315, but this rule cannot be considered as *absolute*, as coins of Constantine I. were certainly struck after 315 without this title, as may be seen from the series of brass coins with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.** issued probably about (?) 317 or (?) 319—323.[122] The shape of the cross not being given militates likewise against its classification. Other coins struck at Thessalonica have the monogram ☧ in the field, or † and ☩ at the top of the standard.[123]

60. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS NOB. C.** Helmeted bust of Constantine II. to the left, with the helmet ornamented with a *cross of pearls*, and

[121] See § VII. "Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., and Constantius II."

[122] No coin of Constantine I. of this legend, and with the title **MAX.**, is given by Cohen. See § IV., § VI., and § VII.

[123] See § IV. "Coin of Licinius I." No. 9; § VI. "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross."

with the cuirass, leading a horse by the bridle and holding a shield, on which are engraved two females shaking hands.

Rev.—**BEATA TRANQVILLITAS.** Altar on which a globe, above three stars; on the altar, **VOTIS XX.** In the exergue (?) Æ.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 86, from *Ducange*).

This specimen being only quoted from *Ducange*, much cannot be said about it. It is not earlier than 317, the year when Constantine II. was made *Cæsar*, but its issue may probably be assigned to about 323.[124]

The obverse reminds one of the very rare copper *quinarius* of Carinus and his wife Magnia Urbica, on which the bust with horse, &c., is similarly delineated.[125]

§ XV. REMARKS ON THE FORMS OF THE CROSSES ADOPTED BY CONSTANTINE I.

(See TABLE on pages 292 and 293.)

There is not much doubt that Constantine the Great did not *invent*[126] the forms of the cross or monogram

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[124] See § VI. "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross," *note* 46.

[125] F. W. Madden, "Handbook to Rom. Num.," Pl. III. No. 2; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. v. p. 368.

[126] For the general history of the cross from the earliest times, see Letronne, "De la Croix ansée Égyptienne imitée par les Chrétiens d'Égypte," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi. Part II., pp. 236—284; Raoul Rochette, "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi. Part II., p. 290; Münter, "Christ. Sinnbilder;" Rapp, "Das Labarum und der Sonnencultus," in Part XXXIX. of the "Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande," 1865; Rev. Baring Gould, "The Legend of the Cross," in "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," 2nd ser. p. 76; "The Pre-Christian Cross," in "Edinburgh Review," Jan. 1870, p. 222, &c. &c.

which he adopted on his coins. The monogram ⸸ may be seen on the coins of Alexander Bala, King of Syria (B.C. 146), and on those of the Bactrian king Hermæus (B.C. 138—120);[127] and also occurs on the coins of Trajan Decius (A.D. 249—251), forming part of the word A⸸ (ἄρχοντος), and placed in a marked manner in the middle of the legend at the top of the coin,[128] whilst the *complete form* of the *labarum* ⌘ may be found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian King Azes[129] (B.C. 100), and on those of the Bactrian kings Hippostratus the Great (B.C. 140—135) and of Hermæus (B.C. 138—120), which monogram has been interpreted by General Cunningham to signify □PT□ΣΠΑΝΑΣ, or *Ortospana*, another name for Kabul.[130]

The ⸸ may have sometimes signified Χρυσιππός. It was used as an abbreviation for Χρηστόν, since a collection of passages so marked might make up a Χρηστομάθεια. It also stood for Χρυσός and Χρόνος,[131] but it eventually

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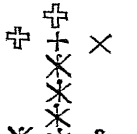
[127] Mionnet, "Suppl.," vol. viii. p. 36, No. 187, monogram No. 783; Pl. III. No. 187.

[128] C. Lenormant, "Mélanges d'Archéologie," vol. iii. p. 196; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 215. See my INTRODUCTION.

[129] "Journal des Savants," 1836, p. 199; Rapp, "Das Labarum, &c.," Pl. figs. B and C.

[130] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 203, Pl. VII. monogram No. 46; 1872, vol. xii. p. 165, No. 6, Pl. VI. No. 11; p. 169, No. 6, Pl. VII. No. 11; cf. E. Thomas, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1864, vol. iv. Pl. VIII. No. 3. Gen. Cunningham ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 181, *seq.*) shows that all the monograms on Bactrian coins are the names of cities, and not those of magistrates or mint-masters.

[131] Liddell and Scott, "Lex.," *s. v.* Χ. Isidore, Bishop of Seville (601—636), gives a sign very like the ⸸ as a marginal mark to note certain important passages, which he calls *Chrisimus*—"Κρίσιμον, hæc sola ex voluntate uniuscujusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur" ("Orig.," vol. i. c. 20).

Date.	Forms of Crosses, etc.	Mint.	Emperor.	Remarks.
? 312—? 317		Siscia.	Constantine I.	
		Tarraco.	,,	
		? Treves, ? London.	,,	
? 317—323		Tarraco.	,,	
		? Arles, ? London.	,,	
		?	Crispus *Cæsar*.	
? 319—323		London.	Constantine II. *Cæsar*.	
		Siscia.	Constantine I.	
		Thessalonica.	Licinius I.	
		Aquileia.	Licinius I. and Crispus *Cæsar*.	
		Tarraco.	Licinius II. *Cæsar* and Constantine II. *Cæsar*.	
		?	Licinius II.	
? 312—323		Tarraco.	Constantine I.	*Mars* type.
		Treves.	,,	,,
		Rome.	,,	*Sol* type.
		Tarraco.	,,	,,

? 317 or ? 321 —323		Thessalonica.	Licinius I., Crispus *Cæsar*, Licinius II. *Cæsar*, and Constantine II. *Cæsar*.	See also coins issued at Treves, Lyons, and Arles, § VI. *note* 54.
		London.	Constantine I., Crispus *Cæsar*, and Constantine II. *Cæsar*.	
		Aquileia.	Licinius I. and II.	
326—333		Aquileia.	Constantine I., Constantine II. *Cæsar*, and Constantius II. *Cæsar*.	**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** "Two soldiers" type. Monogram in *field*.
		Arles (*Constantina*).	,, ,,	,, ,,
After 328		Treves.	Helena and Theodora.	Restoration coins.
,, 330		Arles (*Constantina*).	Constantine I.	*Constantinopolis* and *Urbs Roma* types.
,, ,,		Constantinople.	Constantine I. and Constantine II.	
333—335		Antioch.	Constantine I., Constantius II. *Cæsar*, and Constans *Cæsar*.	
335—337		Arles (*Constantina*).	Constantine I., Constantine II. *Cæsar*, Constantius II. *Cæsar*, Constans *Cæsar*, Delmatius *Cæsar*.	**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** "Two soldiers" type. Monogram on *labarum*.
337—338		Lyons.	Constantine I.	*Consecratio* coins.
		Arles (*Constantina*).	,,	,,

became the Christian monogram, composed of X and P, the two first letters of the name of Χριστός.

The form with the vertical line ending in a circle or a pellet (⁂ ⁂) may be compared with the monogram ⁂, supposed to signify Χιλίαρχος;[132] to that occurring on the coins of the Ptolemies varied in the following manner—⁂, ⁂, ⁂, ⁂;[133] to the ⁂ on some (though rarely) of the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus,[134] and to the star or comet above the heads of Julius Cæsar and Augustus.[135]

The form ⁂ occurs on the coins of Tigranes, King of Armenia[136] (B.C. 96—64), on coins of Arsaces X., XII., and XIV.[137] (B.C. 92—38), forming ΤΙΓΡανοκερτας, or

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[132] Letronne, "Inscript. de l'Égypte," vol. i. p. 433; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 242; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 89.

[133] Cf. Mionnet, "Suppl.," vol. ix. p. 22, No. 122, monogram No. 966; C. Lenormant, "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. p. 198.

[134] Koehne, "Musée Kotschoubey," vol. ii. p. 309.

[135] Cohen, "Méd. de la Répub. Rom.," Pl. XV. No. 30; "Méd. Imp.," Pl. I. and Pl. VI. The form ⁂ occurs on the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus (Koehne, *op. cit.*; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas et De Witte, vol. iii. p. 293), and indicates the *denarius aureus* (cf. F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1876, vol. xvi. p. 191), whilst ⁂ or ⁂, as also the simple ⁂, indicate the *denarius* of early Roman times (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 191). Garrucci, in the Italian version of his paper ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 242), referred to De Saulcy ("Num. Jud.," Pl. XIII. 8) for the form of the *Vau* ⁂ on a coin of Simon Bar-Cochab, but this sentence is excluded from the French translation ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 89), though without any explanation, which I therefore now add:—The form of the *vau* on the coin is ⁂ and *not* ⁂, as pointed out by me in my "Jewish Coinage" (p. 176), a discovery which was graciously acknowledged by M. de Saulcy ("Rev. Num.," 1864, vol. ix. p. 30, *tirage à part*).

[136] Mionnet, vol. v. p. 108, No. 939, monogram No. 1151; C. Lenormant, "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. p. 198.

[137] Gen. Cunningham, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 196; Pl. VII. monogram 10.

Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia; on the coins of the Jewish king Herod I.[138] (B.C. 38), and on the coins of Chios of the time of Augustus.[139]

St. Ephraem the Syrian, who flourished about A.D. 370, describes the form ☩ as a cross surmounted by the letter P, which itself was equivalent to *βοηθία,* "help," the P being equal to 100, and the Greek letters of which the word *βοηθία* is composed also giving the complete number of 100,[140] from which it would seem that this sign did not in the East signify the name of Christ, as the monogram ☧ certainly did.

The symbol ☩ seems to have been that exclusively used in the East, and Letronne states[141] that he never found the ☧ on any of the Christian monuments of Egypt. Its adoption was doubtless from its affinity to the *crux ansata.*

The ☩ is the only monogram which may be found in the "Vatican codex" (first half of the fourth century), in the "Codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis" (end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century), and in the "Codex Sinaiticus" (middle of the fourth century), where it occurs

[138] F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 83, 85, 87.

[139] F. W. Madden, *op. cit.,* p. 244.

[140] Διὰ τί ἱστοροῦμεν ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐκ [τῶν πλευρῶν] τοῦ σταυροῦ Α καὶ Ω, ὅτι ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ ἐπάνω Ρ σημαίνει Βοηθία ψηφιζόμενον ἑκατόν. "Opera," vol. iii. p. 477, ed. Assemani, Rome, 1732; quoted by Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 255) who adds—"In the text of Assemani we read *βοηθεία,* but it seems certain that St. Ephraem wrote *βοηθία,* which has some parallels in the codices of Holy Scripture, and in the opinion of Sturz is to be considered the proper form of the Alexandrian dialect ('De Dial. Mac. et Alex.,' p. 121). Since if this were not so, we should not have from the letters of this word the numerical value of a 'hundred,' but rather that of a 'hundred and five.'" Cf. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 8.

[141] "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi.

in four places—at the end of Jeremiah, twice at the end of Isaiah, and in the middle of the word **ESTAVPΩΘH** (*crucifixus est*), in the eighth verse of the eleventh chapter of Revelation.[142]

It will have been observed that this form of the monogram occurs upon the coins of Constantine struck at *Antioch* about the year 335, but it is repeated on his consecration coins struck at Lyons and Arles.

The earliest example of the equilateral cross ✠ may be seen on the breast of, or suspended from the neck of one of the kings on the slabs brought from Nineveh.[143] At a later date its form was ✝,[144] sometimes accompanied by

[142] Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη. De Rossi, "Bullet.," 1863, p. 62; Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 416, who erroneously gives the reference as "huitième verset du *deuxième* chapitre." The ☧ is also represented above the head of our Saviour, on an ivory preserved in the Christian Museum of the Vatican, which is considered to be the most ancient of all representations of our Lord (Martigny, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 876).

[143] Bonomi, "Nineveh and its Palaces," pp. 333, 414; cf. p. 303. Garrucci, in the Italian edition of his paper ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 243), alludes to a brass coin of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian *Cæsars*, which is in the British Museum, and which has been engraved by Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," vol. v. Pl. XV. p. 587), with a *cross* ✠ and with the obverse legend **CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS AVG.**, but adds that from an impression of the same he can only see a *star* ✳. This sentence is suppressed in the French translation ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. [illegible]. Garrucci is quite right in his surmise, it is only a *star*—but a star of eight rays—in the field of the reverse; moreover, the obverse legend is **CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS NB. C.** (F. W. Madden, "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 168; Pl. IV. No. 3).

[144] M. de Witte, in a note to Garrucci's paper ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 90, *note* 2) says this sign is suspended to the neck of a Victory on a painted vase published in the "Élite des Monuments céramographiques," vol. i. Pl. XCIII. This form of the

globules, ⁜, as on the painted vases,[145] both of which symbols may have had their origin in the sign 卐,[146] which occurs on the coins of Gaza—frequently called "the monogram of Gaza"—on monuments and vases of Phœnician origin, on Gallo-Celtic coins, on Scandinavian monuments called "Thor's Hammer," and on Indian coins called "the Swastika cross."[147]

The three principal forms of crosses in antiquity are—

1. The cross **X**, called *decussata*,[148] and also "St.

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cross is also found placed in a circle ⊕, and is probably the earliest symbol of the sun (Rapp, "Das Labarum und der Sonnen-cultus;" Thomas, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 224). The same sign occurs on a rare gold coin of the Empress Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, and wife of Galerius Maximian, formerly in the Wigan collection and now in the British Museum (F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 101; 1868, vol. viii. p. 29), and she has been supposed to have embraced Christianity (De Witte, "Du Christianisme de quelques Impératrices Romaines," in "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. 1853). In describing this coin, I pointed out that Cohen had incorrectly described it as having the legend **VENERI VICTRICI N K L V** (in monogram) **X C**. A specimen, however, of this coin, with the monogram ⋈ΥXC, is in the collection of Dr. J. Evans. Very similar letters occur on the coins of Maximian Hercules (Cohen, No. 68; cf. No. 67, and *note*, in vol. v. p. 447), and of Constantius Chlorus (No. 12), and I dare say on other examples. I cannot explain the letters.

[145] ⁜, or ἀστερίσκος, is a mark used to call attention to any particular passage (Liddell and Scott, "Lex.," *s. v.*).

[146] Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 242; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 90.

[147] Rapp, "Das Labarum und der Sonnen-Cultus;" Baring-Gould, "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," 2nd ser., p. 86; Thomas, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 283.

[148] The meaning of *decussis* is the number "ten;" it is also the name of a coin of "ten *asses*," and as the Roman numeral was **X**, it came to signify the intersection of two lines in the form of a cross (Vitruv., x. 11; Plin., "N. H.," xviii. 34)—"**X** litera et in figurâ *crucem* et in numero *decem* demonstrat" (Isidor., "Orig.," i. 3).

Andrew's Cross," because it has been supposed by some that it was on a cross of this shape that he suffered martyrdom.[149]

The form **X** was doubtless an abbreviated monogram of the name of Christ. Julian the Apostate, in speaking of his hostility against Christianity in his satire against the people of Antioch, writes, "You say I wage war with the *Chi*, and you admire the Kappa," [150] and again, "They say that neither the *Chi* nor the Kappa ever did the city any harm; it is hard to understand the meaning of this wise riddle of yours, but we happen to have been informed by some interpreters of your city that they are initial letters of names, the *one denoting Christ*, the other Constantius." [151]

2. The cross **T**, called *commissa*, and also "St. Anthony's Cross," as it is found embroidered on his *pænula* or cloak. It is in the form of a *Tau*, and appears to be a variety of the *crux ansata*, or "cross with a handle," ☥ found on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

The *tau* cross has been supposed to have been foretold in the passage of Ezekiel (ix. 4, 6), where "the man clothed with linen" is ordered to go "through Jerusalem and *set a mark* upon the foreheads of men that sigh and cry," &c. (Heb. תָּו ; LXX. δὸς σημεῖον; Vulg.

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[149] Representations of St. Andrew with the decussate cross, as the instrument of his martyrdom, belong to the *Middle Ages* (Rev. S. Cheetham Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* Andrew).

[150] Καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χῖ, πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς εἴσεισι τοῦ Κάππα. "Misopōgon," Juliani opera, p. 111: Paris, 8vo, 1583.

[151] Τὸ Χῖ, φησὶν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα· Τί μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἴνιγμα, συνείναι χαλεπόν. τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὀνοματίων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ' ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. "Misopōgon," Juliani op., p. 99.

signa *thau* super frontes).[152] It will be observed that the *tau* does not appear in the LXX. version, and Letronne affirms [153]—"Ce n'est que dans la version de Théodotion écrite sous Septime Sévère que le nom de la lettre *thau* se trouve joint au mot *σημεῖον*," whilst the Rev. Baring Gould, apparently following Letronne, writes [154]—"St. Jerome testifies that the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, written the one under Hadrian, the other under Marcus Aurelius, were without it, and that it was only in the version of Theodotion, made under Septimius Severus, that the **T** was inserted. Nevertheless St. Jerome adopted it in his translation."

But Origen noticed it in his "Commentaries on Ezechiel" in the following words:—"Οἱ *μὲν ὁ σημεῖον· ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας καὶ Θεοδοτίων φασί σημείωσις τῶν θαῦ ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα . . . τὸ θαῦ ἐν τοῖς πὰρ' Ἑβραίοις κβ', στοιχείοις ἐστὶ τὸ*

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[152] Cf. Gen. iv. 15. Heb. אוֹת; LXX. *σημεῖον*; Vulg. *signum*. Rev. vii. 3, ix. 4, *σφραγίζω* and *σφραγίς*, used of the *seal of God*; xiii. 16, 17, xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, *χάραγμα*, used of the *mark of the beast*; omitted in some MSS. in xv. 2. Among the Egyptians, if a slave ran away from his master, and gave himself up to the god at a certain temple, and received certain *sacred marks* upon his person, whosoever his master was, he could not lay hand on him (Herod., ii. 113). Schroeder, quoted by Dr. Currey ("Speaker's Com.," vol. vi. p. 50), writes, "The Egyptian Apis was distinguished by a white triangle (or square), the signature of the power of nature (or of the world). On the forehead of the Indian Schiva is the image of the Ganges river. Schiva's or Vishnu's sign was imprinted on the forehead of the Hindoo, who was purified in the holy water. The Japanese, who undertakes a pilgrimage to the temple of Teusjo Dai Sin, receives as a farewell token a small box, on which is written the name of the god, and which he carries home bound to his forehead. Marking on the forehead was in use in the Mithra mysteries."

[153] "La Croix ansée."

[154] "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," 2nd ser., pp. 111, 112.

τελευταῖον,"[155] whilst St. Jerome, who doubtless took his views on this point from Origen, writes,[156] "Pro *signo* quod *Septuaginta Aquila* et *Symmachus* transtulerunt, *Theodotion* ipsum verbum Ebraicum posuerunt *thau*, quæ extrema est apud Hebraos viginti et duarum litterarum," which, as Garrucci observes,[157] should be corrected to "Pro *signo* quod *Septuaginta* et *Symmachus* transtulerunt *Aquila* et *Theodotion*," &c. Symmachus, who made his Greek version *after* that of Theodotion, as may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus and the language of Jerome in his Commentary on the Thirty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, flourished in the reign of *Septimius Severus* (193—211),[158] and Theodotion is generally supposed to have lived in the time of *Commodus*[159] (180—192).

Tertullian also translated the passage, "Da signum *thau* in frontibus virorum."[160]

The word תָּו means "a sign in the form of a cross," whence the name of the letter ת,[161] and those who have studied the ancient Jewish coins will have observed that there are two forms of the *tau* used, one like the Greek **X**, as on the Moabite stone, the other more like the cross †.[162]

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[155] "Com. ad Ezech.," vol. iii. p. 424, ed. De Laruc, 1740, quoted by Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 256, *note*; cf. "Hexaplorum Origines quæ supersunt," vol. i., ed. Montfaucon, 1713.

[156] "Opera," vol. iii. p. 754, ed. Martin, 1704.

[157] *Op. cit.*

[158] Dr. S. Davidson, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," *s. v.* Greek Versions; cf. Lardner, "Credibility," vol. ii. p. 326; Montfaucon, "Hexapl. Orig.," Præf., p. 51, c. vi.

[159] Lardner, "Credibility," vol. ii. p. 168.

[160] "Ipsa enim litera Græcorum *Tau*, nostra autem **T** species crucis," "Adv. Marcion.," iii. 22.

[161] Gesenius, "Lex.," ed. Tregelles, *s. v.* תָּו.

[162] F. W. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," Plate.

The *tau* was sometimes used in the same manner as the ☧ in the middle of the name of the deceased, as may be seen on a marble of the third century in the Callixtine Cemetery, with the legend IRETNE.[163]

3. The cross † *immissa*, called "the Latin cross." This cross has been generally supposed to be the kind on which our Lord was crucified, which seems further corroborated from the fact that the title of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin was placed *above* his head (ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν, Matt. xxvii. 37), or *over* him (ἐπιγραφὴ γεγραμμένη ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Luke xxiii. 38; cf. Mark xv. 25), or *over* the cross (ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, John xix. 19), and so would have a form like 모.

De Rossi has shown[164] that no Christian monument of certain date before the fifth century gives examples of the *crux immissa*, or of that which has been called the Greek +. On the other hand, an epitaph which, from its consular date, is earlier than the reign of Constantine, proves that the Christians had a monogram composed of the letters I and X (Ἰησους, Χριστὸς), thus formed ☧.[165]

The most ancient and most correct form of the monogram of Christ occurs upon a monument of Sivaux, in France, which is considered by De Rossi,[166] from its style and palæography, to be earlier than the time of Constantine,[167] having the arms of the cross of great length,

[163] De Rossi, "Bullet. Arch. Christ.," p. 35, 1863.

[164] "De Christianis Titulis [illegible]," Paris, 1858, inserted in vol. iv. of the "[illegible]," ed. J. B. Pitra.

[165] De Rossi, "Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ septimo sæculo antiquiores," vol. i. p. 16, No. 10. Paris, 1855.

[166] "Bullet. Arch. Christ.," p. 47, 1863; "Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 414; Babington in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 856. I am indebted to Mr. John Murray for the electrotype of this interesting monument.

[167] Le Blant, however, considers it ("Inscr. Chrét.," No. 576) to be of the fifth century.



☧. This was not long afterwards modified, and it is at the time of Constantine that the ☧ occurs for the first time on Roman dated *tituli*. There has been discovered[168] a monument of the year 323, which is precisely *the year*

. . NO QVI
. . XIT ANN·XXIII·MVIII·ƉXXVII·DEP·DI
IDVS SEPT·SEVERO ET RVFINO CoNSS·
FECER·PARENTES IN PACE ☧

of the defeat of Licinius, having on it the monogram ☧. Other marbles of the dates 331, 339, 341, and 343 are also in existence.[169] In 347 the form ✳ occurs, but not

[168] De Rossi, "Bullet.," p. 22. He also publishes ("Inscr. Christ.," vol. i. No. 26) a fragment with the inscription [VI]XIT . . . ☧ . . . . GAL. CONSS., which he thinks might *perhaps* be of the year 298, when Faustus and Gallus were consuls, adding that if he could only find the missing portion and it bore the name of Faustus *auro contra et gemmis cariorem æstimaret*. It is, however, more than probable that the Gallus in this inscription was consul at a much later date.

[169] De Rossi, "Inscr. Christ.," vol. i. p. 38, No. 39. In a description by Mr. C. T. Hemans of some recent works in the Roman Catacombs ("Academy," October 21, 1876) it is said

for long, for the ☧ is dropped, and this form, together with the ancient one, continue in existence to the end of the fourth century. From the fifth century the ☧ disappears, and the *Latin cross* † or the Greek ✝ take the place of the monograms, so that after 405 the ☧ (at Rome at least), especially on epitaphs, is entirely eclipsed, and the plain cross is found on all monuments[170] excepting on coins.

The cross on the coins of Constantine and his two sons, struck at Aquileia, is formed as follows ✠. This cross Cavedoni[171] considers to be, not the *Latin*, but the *Alexandrian* or *Egyptian*.[172]

According to Letronne,[173] the sign of the cross was not adopted by the Christians in Egypt before the time of Theodosius the Great, under whom (A.D. 389) the Serapeum, on which some hieroglyphic writing was discovered, including the *crux ansata*, or symbol of *life to come*,[174] was destroyed; but at the same time he admits that,

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that no less than 150 Christian epitaphs have been discovered. The inscriptions which are complete indicate in phrase and orthography a period earlier than that of Constantine, and not later than the 3rd century. *In no instance was found the monogram* ☧, known as the Constantinian. Martigny, ("Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 185), citing Perret ("Les Catacombes de Rome," vol. iv. Pl. XVI. No. 74), says that there exist antique stones belonging to rings on which the cross is engraved, and the style of many of them seems to fix their date prior to Constantine.

[170] Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 416. See § XXI.

[171] "Nuove Ricerche," p. 3.

[172] See under § VII. "Coins of Constantine I.," etc., 326—333.

[173] "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad., vol. xvi. Part II. p. 236.

[174] Ζωὴ ἐπερχομένη, Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 17; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," vii. c. 15; Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 22. Cavedoni ("Nuove Ricerche," p. 4, *note* 2) remarks, "ἐπερχομένη, properly translated, means *coming*, but the participle present can also be taken in the future sense when the event to come is of divine prediction." Cf. ὁ

anterior to this period, there occurs an inscription of the Catholic Church in the Porphyry Caves as follows—

ΚΑΘΟ☩ΛΙΚΗ + ΕΚΚΛΗ☩CΙΑ

where not only may be seen two *cruces ansatæ* intercalated, but a *Greek cross* between the two words.

The ecclesiastical historians relate [175] that the cubit of the Nile, which it was the custom of the pagans to carry to the Serapeum when the time of the annual inundation of the Nile approached, was brought about the year 325 to Alexandria by order of Constantine,[176] in order to show the people that the great blessing of the annual inundation was due to the providence of the Creator. The pagans supposed that the annual swelling would consequently fail, but, to their astonishment, the inundation rose to its usual height, proving that this great blessing

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ἐρχόμενος as applied to our Lord (Matt. iii. 11). In the letter of Hadrian to Servianus, the husband of Domitia Paulina, the Emperor's sister, preserved by Vopiscus ("In Saturnino," 8), he writes, "Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves Christian bishops are worshippers of Serapis . . . . . The Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by one party to worship Serapis, by the other Christ. . . . . They have but one God, him the Christians, Jews, and Gentiles worship alike." This last passage is in all probability corrupt (Milman, "Hist. of Christianity," vol. ii. p. 108, *note;* Sharpe, "Hist. of Egypt," vol. ii. p. 168); indeed it is a question if any of the letter is genuine, as has been observed by Mr. Merivale ("Hist. of the Romans under the Empire," vol. vii. p. 467, *note*), for in the first place Verus is mentioned as the *son* of Hadrian, whereas he was his *adopted son*, and in the second the letter is not given by Spartian, the biographer of Hadrian, but occurs incidentally in the life of Saturninus, a usurper in the East, under Probus, by Vopiscus.

[175] Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 18; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 8; cf. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 25.

[176] It was restored with other symbols to the Serapeum by Julian the Apostate (Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 3), where it doubtless remained till the reign of Theodosius, and the

had not its source in vain superstition, but was a dispensation of divine providence.[177]

In the opinion of Cavedoni[178] it was at this time that the Christians appropriated to themselves the *crux ansata*, signifying "life to come," and that consequently its use would be greatly diffused throughout Egypt, and through the cities that held most frequent communication with it, such, for example, as *Aquileia*, the great maritime port of Illyricum. He also states that spiritual communication must have continuously existed between the churches of Alexandria and Aquileia, citing in corroboration the letter of the Council of Aquileia, held in 381, addressed to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.

Garrucci[179] does not accept Cavedoni's interpretation of the words of the Council of Aquileia, nor does he agree with his opinion that the cross on the coins of Aquileia is an *Egyptian cross*, adding that it might be valid if there was but one example of this Christian sign in Alexandria itself, and that the marbles of Aquileia do not give the monogrammatic cross, but the

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demolishment of the Temple in 389. On some of the brass coins of Julian, there is on the obverse, **DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI**, and on the reverse **DEO SANCTO NILO** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 56) or **SANCTO NILO** (No. 72), and the reclining figure of the Nile.

[177] On a beautiful gem published by Winckelman ("Mon. Ined.," p. 109; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 38; Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 9, *note* 10), the Nile is represented as a bearded man surrounded by four little boys, with the inscription **ΘΕΟΥ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ**, *Dei providentia* (cf. Marini, "Iscr. Alb.," p. 232). Some remarks on the legend **PROVIDENTIA** on coins of Septimius Severus, and on the term *πρόνοια*, will be found in my account of the Blacas collection ("Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. vii. p. 316).

[178] "Nuove Ricerche," p. 9.

[179] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 259.

monogram ☧, and in one case a *Latin cross* with a square top.[180]

Further, Garrucci has published[181] a coin with the *square*, instead of the rounded top.

As to the rounded top, Garrucci suggests[182] that it may have been meant to allude to the sacred head of the Redeemer, which was thus intended to be represented projecting *above* the cross.

Cavedoni, in reply to these strictures of Garrucci,[183] alluded again, and with justice, to the inscription on the Porphyry Caves, which I have already described, and to the fact that, owing to the constant invasion of the Saracens, it is rather a matter of wonder that even the few Christian monuments of Egypt that Letronne has illustrated have been preserved; and, as regards the Council of Aquileia, adds that "among the fathers who professed to have always observed the order and disposition of the Alexandrian Church, Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, held the first place."

It is, however, doubtful if the cross on the coins of Aquileia is the *crux ansata*, and even Borghesi[184] did not know what the *rounded* extremity could have in common with the *handle* of the Egyptian cross, for the cross called *ansata* has not a round, but an *ovoid top*, into which the hand might be introduced, as may be seen on existing monuments.[185]

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[180] Bertoli, "Le Antichità di Aquileia profane e sacre," pp. 352, 354—358.

[181] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 246, No. 17, Pl. No. 11; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 17, Pl. III. No. 11. See § VII. No. 30.

[182] *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

[183] "Rivista," pp. 213, 214.

[184] Quoted by Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 2.

[185] Wilkinson, "Anc. Egyptians," 1841, "Suppl.," Pl. 20,

The idea of Garrucci, that the rounded top is intended for the head of our Lord, is considered by Cavedoni[186] a "whimsical fancy," as "every one," he says, "knows that that most sacred head rested *below* the beam of the cross itself."

Cavedoni is, however, decidedly wrong in his statement, as the following earliest examples of the crucifix show the head *above* the cross beam:—1. Crucifixes on a cornelian, and an inedited ivory of the fifth century.[187] 2. Crucifix of the Syrian codex in the Laurentian Library at Florence, dated 586 by its writer, the monk Rabula.[188] 3. The pectoral cross and reliquary of Theodolinda, Queen of Lombardy, who died in 628.[189] 4. Crucifix of the cemetery of St. Julius or St. Valentinus;[190] to which may be added the curious graffito, giving a caricatured representation of the crucifixion, drawn at the end of the second or beginning of the third century.[191]

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

21, &c.; "Pop. Account of the Anc. Egyptians," vol. i. p. 271; woodcut, No. 273.

[186] "Rivista," p. 216.

[187] Garrucci, "Diss. Arch.," p. 27.

[188] Assemani, "Bibl. Laurent. Medic. Cat.," Pl. XXIII., Florence, 1742; Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 191; Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 515.

[189] Martigny, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 516. See the woodcut on p. 512 called "Theodolinda's crucifix."

[190] Bottari, "Sculture," &c., vol. iii. pl. 192. Rome, 1737—1754.

[191] Martigny, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 516.; C. W. King, "Gnostics and their Remains," p. 90. Other examples occur in the works referred to.

MISCELLANEA.

Recent Finds of Coins in Scotland.

Steinish Treasure-Trove.—About May, 1876, some boys found in a peat moss at Steinish, near Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis, some old coins enclosed in a horn, which was quite rotten and broken to pieces. The coins were sent to Exchequer, and consisted of:

Francis and Mary—"JAM NON SUNT," 1559	1
[illegible]. Plack	1
[illegible] (ten of them much oxidized and adhering together)	23
James VI.—sword dollar, 1571, well preserved	1
Total	26

Georgemas Hill Treasure-Trove.—In August, 1876, were found under a large boulder stone (which forms a corner boundary between the three parishes of Bower, Halkirk, and Thurso) a quantity of coins enclosed in a small coarse linen bag, which was very much decayed. The coins, with a small portion of the bag, were sent to Exchequer. They consisted of:

English.	Elizabeth—sixpence	1
Scottish.	Charles I.—half-noble	1
	Charles II.—marks, 1671, 1673, and two 1676	4
	half-merk, 1675	1
	bawbees	105
	bodles or turners	34
German dollar.	Maximilian Henry of Bavaria as Elector, and Archbishop of Cologne, 1661	1
	Total	147

Old Monkland Treasure-Trove.—In February last a lot of coins, with a fragment of an old leather purse, were found on a field on West Farm, Tollcross, Old Monkland, in Lanarkshire, which were forwarded to Exchequer. The following is a list of the coins:

English.	Elizabeth—shilling and three sixpences, all very poor	4
	Charles I.—shillings, one with square shield and mint-mark (P) and the other with oval shield and mint-mark crown, both with "CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO"	2
Scottish.	Charles II.—merks, 1664 and 1672, both very well preserved	2
	Turners or bodles	88
	Total	96

The fragment of the leather purse accompanied them, and seemed strong and tough.

George Sim.

Edinburgh, 1877.

XI.

ON SOME RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE ANCIENT BRITISH COINAGE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN DISTRICT.

I AM much gratified at being enabled, on the occasion of my first attendance at one of its meetings, to bring before the notice of the Society a considerable addition to the already published list of ancient British coins.

At intervals during the last few years, a number of coins of this class have been found on the coast in the neighbourhood of Bognor, and as they have almost all been secured by my father, I have had the rare opportunity of examining a series which, for interest and importance in its historical bearing, has perhaps never before been equalled by any one find of coins of this description.

In all, about two hundred and eighty have been discovered, and amongst them there are as many as twenty-five unpublished types.

It is necessary, however, to qualify this expression, since of these twenty-five types four were previously known; but the specimens from which these coins have hitherto been figured are so worn and effaced as to cause discrepancies between the first engravings and those now presented, sufficiently distinct to render republication desirable.

By reference to the annexed list, it will be seen that

about half the number are inscribed with the names of the sons of Commius, the rest being anepigraphous, and all are indigenous to the south-eastern district of Mr. Evans's classification, a tract of country extending from Hastings to the Avon in Hampshire, and bounded longitudinally by the North Downs.

I have divided the uninscribed coins into two groups:—

Series A, which I call "True British," contains those coins which appear unaffected by Roman influence, and are wholly Celtic or Gaulish in their character.

Series B, "Romano-Celtic," of which the members resemble the inscribed coins in design, weight, and specific gravity.

There are also a few types which, whilst retaining the more prominent features of the laureate bust, are baser in metal, lower in specific gravity, and less in weight than those included in Class A.

To these the term "transitional" may be applied, though the types are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct class of themselves.

Although of the twenty-eight uninscribed varieties represented in the collection eleven are unpublished, yet, with two exceptions, the novelties so far resemble well-known types as not to require more than the notice which will be taken when individually describing each coin. But Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate I., including the variety of the former, seem to deserve an additional note.

These two coins resemble one another in the neat and careful manner of their execution, and in this respect they bear a certain likeness to the silver coins, Evans, Pl. G. 1 and 2. The latter have by some been assigned a Gaulish origin, and I am rather disposed to attribute a similar provenance to these two new types.

Besides the general difference to be observed on ancient British coins between work which is the result of a protracted sifting of Greek design, modified by Druidical tradition, through ages of barbaric disorder, and that which is the outcome of a fresh contact of classical influence—a distinction which, though difficult to observe in isolated instances, is patent on examination of a large series—I have been guided in arranging these uninscribed coins by the results of some observations and experiments conducted for me by my friend Professor Church, of Cirencester, whose experience and accuracy in the assay of metals are sufficient to render trustworthy the data on which the classification is based; and his remarks on the nature of the alloys, and the peculiarities exhibited by the metals employed, which are given *in extenso*, will be found especially interesting, and possess, moreover, the charm of fresh information.

But before proceeding with Mr. Church's analyses, I must mention a circumstance which, to my mind, enhances the interest of the collection, viz., that associated with the coins have been found (besides a quantity of scraps of various metals of all ages) a number of small pieces of gold varying in weight from 1 to 100 grains. These are of such shapes, sizes, and character, that it seems very probable they are the remnants of a quantity of the precious metal amassed for the purposes of an executive mint; and there seems nothing inconsistent with the idea that such of them as the links and beaten plates of gold were "manubiæ" of the Gallo-Roman period, at which epoch they had formed parts of personal ornaments.

Most of the fragments are displayed in the small glass case, and they will be found to consist of—

1.—A bar of yellow gold, 4½ inches long, weighing 104 grains.
2.—Another, shorter, weight 42 grains.
3.—Two more, twisted in a similar manner to the British torques.
4.—Various pieces of wire; some plain, some plaited, some twisted, varying in thickness from that of finest silk to coarse string. Some of the more delicate pieces resemble the wire used in the surface ornamentation of Scandinavian jewellery.
5.—Thin plates of gold; one is pierced with microscopic holes for attachment to a textile fabric.
6.—Flattened ingots of a baser metal. These have the appearance of having been cast after alloy with bronze or copper.
7.—Flattened links, ribbed transversely.
8.—Hollow annular objects. The largest, which appears to be plated over bronze, is similar to the Irish, so-called, ring money.
9.—A chain of exquisite workmanship, formed by an alternation of double and single links, and attached to a star rosette, resulting in a point in which is a minute patch of niello.
10.—A very small rosette.
11.—A boat-like object, with gadrooned edge, much battered; a link is attached to either end; apparently it served as a setting to a stone now gone.

Although some of these objects may belong to a later date (for instance, the chain and some of the pieces of wire, which may possibly be of a Saxon age), yet I think there are reasonable grounds for presuming that the majority of the fragments are of the same antiquity as the coins. The bars of gold are, as before observed, twisted in like manner to the Celtic torques, and this style of ornament is of great antiquity, and was not, so far as I am aware, continued after the third century of our era, if indeed it was produced at so late a date.

The round flat disc weighing 23 grains, and having the rather high specific gravity of 15·25, affords additional support to the possible mint theory, as it is, to all appear-

ance, an unstruck coin, and bears evidence of having been hammered after casting. It is of the same colour and specific gravity as most of the flattened ingots, and its weight is about that of the coins of the uninscribed series.

Four of these ingots contain approximately the correct amount of metal for the coins, and seem to have been cut off in lengths from a bar of metal. Two of them, which weigh respectively 16 and 14 grains, are sufficiently near the value of the coins of the inscribed series to have been ready for use.

The results of Mr. Church's examination, which are given below, will show that the gold of which the jewellery is composed is much less alloyed than that which gives value to the coins. The former contains a fair proportion of both the precious metals, whilst copper is found to be an important ingredient in the latter. The ingot analyzed (D) seems to have much silver in it, and gives an analysis which is not easy to explain; but it is very

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ANALYSIS OF GOLD WORK AND COINS, MADE BY PROFESSOR CHURCH, M.A., F.G.S.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
							Tincommius.		Verica.
	Twisted Bar.	Twisted Bar.	Plain Bar. 1	Ingot.	Coin. Evans, Pl. E, 1 and 2	Coin. Evans, Pl. E, Fig. 12.	Coin. Evans, Pl. II., Fig. 4.	Coin. Evans, Pl. II., Fig. 5.	Coin. Evans, Pl. II., Fig. 12.
Gold . .	90·73	66·82	73·8	44·0	51·75	57·3	47·37	48·55	75·2
Silver . .	8·39	22·39	14·3	50·5	34·6	16·4	12·91	13·56	7·6
Tin . . .	..	..	none	none	..	2·4	trace	1·15	..
Copper . .	·88	10·79	11·9	5·5	13·65	23·9	39·72	36·74	17·2
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Actual sp. gr. .	18·05	14·83	..	..	13·07	13·23	10·88	10·64	12·6
Calculated sp. gr.	18·06	14·76	..	..	..	..	12·31	..	..

1. Mean of analyses of three pieces of metal.

evident that the moneyers of Tincommius were troubled by no scruples in debasing the currency, as in the coins of this prince the copper is increased from 10 or 12 per cent. to between 30 and 40. A great improvement is seen in the analysis of a coin of Verica, but this, being a single instance, cannot be regarded as typical of the character of his money.

Mr. Church says:—

"Note 1.—An alloy having very nearly the composition of G or H above might be made by taking 1 volume or bulk of native argentiferous gold of S.G. 16·5, and 1 volume or bulk of copper or Roman bronze. Such an alloy might analyze—

Gold	50 per cent.
Silver . . .	15 ,,
Copper . . .	35 ,,

"Note 2.—The above specific gravities, so far as regards the coins, are curiously low: they are all much under the calculated figures for such alloys. G, for instance, gave 10·88, instead of 12·31. Another specimen of the Medusa type gave 10·6. On the other hand, the experimental and theoretical specific gravities of the bars A and B agree almost perfectly. I attribute the difference partly to the presence of oxides, &c., on the surface and in the pits and hollows of the coins; partly to the existence of internal cavities. My copper determinations are probably a trifle too high, in consequence of their having been determined by difference, when, in reality, a part of the difference ought to have been set down as sulphur, oxygen, chlorine, &c.

"Note 3.—The tin in coins F and H was discovered by accident. I do not feel that these estimates are more than approximate. I think there was a trace of tin in G, and this metal may possibly have been overlooked in my former determinations of E and I. If bronze had been used in alloying the gold 2 or 3 per cent. of tin would have been thus introduced.

"A. H. Church."

Turning now to the inscribed series we shall find amongst them two coins so interesting as to require somewhat more introductory notice than sufficed for those we have been considering. Their importance lies in the

remarkable manner in which they confirm the suggested reading of legends, which have hitherto occurred in so abbreviated a form that their correct translation has been a matter of conjecture only.

Reference to the annexed lists will show in what proportion every type occurs, and by how large a number each king is represented; and it will be seen that six additions have been made to the gold coinage both of Tincommius and Verica.

The coin to which undoubtedly the greatest interest and importance are attached is that figured on Plate II. Fig. 11, which bears the letters COM. FILI. above and below a thunderbolt on the obverse, and the letters VIR above a horse on the reverse.

This practically sets at rest the discussion on the COM. F. of Verica, Tincommius, and Eppillus, and the TASC. F. of Cunobeline and Epaticcus; inscriptions which have evoked much controversy among numismatists, and in some quarters irrelevant ingenuity; and I consider it a privilege to be able, by producing a coin exhibiting so much of the legend as to render its interpretation no longer a matter of doubt or speculation, to pay tribute to the clear insight and logical reasoning of Drs. Birch and Evans—the former who first (Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vii. p. 80) proposed COMMII FILIUS and TASCIOVANI FILIUS as the proper reading of these inscriptions; and the latter who, endorsing this view, has given us (in his "Coinage of the Ancient Britons") so concise a résumé of this period of history, and the way it is confirmed or controverted by coins now existing.

I have in this paper followed the plan adopted by Mr. Evans of using the Latin termination IUS to the names

of the British princes, though I think it is a question whether it would not be more correct to use the Celtic terminal IOS, which occurs on the coin, Evans, Plate I. Fig. 10, and which is certainly a coin of Tincommios or his father, and it seems more probable that the Atrebates would use Gaulish pronunciation and spelling rather than classical diction.

The question whether or no this Commius is he who surrendered to Mark Antony on condition that "ne in conspectum veniat cujus-quam Romani" still remains veiled in obscurity, and the possibility of such being the case is hardly increased by any testimony of the accompanying coins; but there is, on the other hand, nothing in this somewhat extensive numismatic manuscript to controvert the already known events in the career of this remarkable Atrebatian chieftain, and of the relation in which the COMMIUS of the Sussex coins stands to him; and considering what strong circumstantial evidence there is in the case, I may, perhaps, be pardoned for expressing my belief in their identity.

The grounds, however, on which such conclusion is based are so clearly stated by Mr. Evans, p. 154, that it is unnecessary to enumerate them here; and I should not have referred to the question were it not desirable to state that it is now certain that the sons of a COMMIUS did reign in the south-east of England probably within a period of twenty years after Cæsar's first invasion.

An inscription on a coin of Eppillus (Pl. II. Fig. 13) next claims attention; it is CALLEV., which I hardly suppose will be doubted to mean CALLEVA. Coins almost similar to this, in silver, have been found, but on which the terminal **V** has been omitted, by the accident of the irregular stroke of the die. It has been a matter

of uncertainty hitherto whether this CALLE should be assumed to be the name of a king or of the capital of the Atrebatian kingdom. But we may now, I think, with quite as much confidence credit the antiquity of the Silchester mint, as we accept without hesitation the issue of degraded staters and quarter-staters from the towns of Verulam and Colchester.

I believe I am correct in stating that no coins of Eppillus have before been found without the county of Kent, and the occurrence of two specimens of a new type amongst so many pieces of the money of his brothers, to which they bear a great resemblance in weight, execution, and alloy, and within a direct line from Calleva to the sea, seems to justify the already allotted time of his reign, and the contiguity, if not the identity, of his kingdom with that of his brothers.

But there appear grounds for assuming that the kingdom of the Island Atrebates, over whom the three princes successively or simultaneously ruled, must have had a wider geographical range than that usually accredited to it; and if not in undisputed possession of the southern coast, that this tribe formed a much larger element in the population than the Regni, whose authority was supposed to extend over this district; and at all events they were the ruling caste over the Selsea peninsula, and over those portions of Hampshire and Sussex which border the Southampton Water and the harbours of Portsmouth, Porchester, and Chichester.

To the importance of Regnum itself as a British town in the time of Claudius, witness the stone found at Chichester in 1723 (and described in the "Philosophical Transactions," No. 379, vol. xxxii., and in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," cxix. 124, and elsewhere).

It will be remembered that this stone bears the dedicatory inscription of a temple to Neptune and Minerva for the welfare of the Imperial family, with the sanction of the Emperor Claudius and his tributary prince (CO) GIDVBNVS of Britain—a native potentate alluded to by Tacitus[2] as "our most faithful ally" ("Cogidumno .... is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit").

We know from many passages in the Commentaries[3] that the Atrebates of Britain kept up a friendly intercourse with the tribe of the same name on the Continent; and whilst they were governed by a strong chief like Commius, to whose influence and importance we have Cæsar's direct testimony, we can suppose that no precautions would be neglected to secure possession of the strategic points commanding the line of communication.

Unfortunately the few monuments that are left us of this distant epoch of history are so effaced as to be of little use in endeavouring to read its records, and we have to reason more by inference and analogy than by absolute evidence. Undoubtedly, however, one of the principal means of maintaining a foreign connection would be the possession of a suitable port for landing and departure, and a glance at the map will at once suggest Chichester or Pagham harbours as being in the most direct line from the capital. Now, though some two or more miles of the Selsea peninsula may have been washed away by the sea since the time when "this ancient route to the Continent" was popular, and from this cause probably much valuable evidence is for ever lost, yet no part of the south coast has been so fruitful in yielding a harvest of

[2] "Vit. Agric.," chap. xiv.
[3] Lib. iii., chap. ix.; iv., chap. xx., xxi., and others.

evidence of ancient civilisation. Its propinquity, moreover, to the Isle of Wight, through which passed much of the exported metal for which Britain was so justly famous, favours its political importance.

It is worthy of note that owing to the peculiar action of the waves on this coast, coins and other heavy objects which had been buried in land long since encroached upon by the sea, would be sorted and washed ashore, and hence it cannot be assumed that this find has originated in a single deposit on the present sea-board.

It is probably owing to this agency that so few large coins have been found in proportion to the small ones; as it is likely that the former, from their greater weight, have been deposited elsewhere.

Annexed is a technical description of the uninscribed coins, to which a few remarks are added as the occasion requires.

It is followed by a complete list of the entire collection.

UNINSCRIBED SERIES.

PLATE I. FIGS. 1 and 2A, 2B.

Obv.—Beardless bust to the left; the temples bound by a network fillet, terminated at its lower extremity by an inwardly placed open crescent; over this is a row of club-shaped spikelets; behind the ear are two twisted spirals and remnants of conventional hair.

Rev.—Barbarous horse to the left; in front a swastika; below a wheel; above portions of a rosette, and a wingless bird with open beak; on some specimens the beak is absent.

(Weight about 20 grains, sp. gr. 13·5.)

Reference has already been made to the connection existing between this type and that of Evans, G. 2, and though the heads on the obverse are not unlike, it is with the reverse that the parallel is most closely approached. A general similarity is at once felt between the two designs, in both of which a bird is sailing over the back of a horse. This form of the transfiguration of the charioteer is peculiar to these two types, though when the beak of the bird is absent, and it hence becomes a meaningless retracted object, we find it to have been perpetuated in Fig. 11.

The swastika or fylfot cross, the sacred symbol of the Indians and Chinese, is seen in front of the horse, and raises the question whether it figured in the Druidical system, and if so, what was its signification? It is to be seen also in a modified form on the reverse of the coin, Evans, Pl. B. 5.

Had we any monumental evidence of Phœnician occupation or intercourse with the southern coast, by the occurrence of their coins, I should be inclined to believe it possible that such had served as a model for this type; first, because it is difficult to assign them any place in the Philippic derivative chain, and secondly because there is a resemblance between them and the coins of the Carthaginian colony of Sex (Almunecar), in Spain, on which the head of Hercules occurs. The same network fillet binds the temples in each case, and the spiral twisted arrangement of the hair behind the ears is common to both.

A certain similarity is also to be traced between this head and that on the silver coin of Dubnovellaunus, Evans, Pl. IV. Fig. 11, the resemblance being in the fillet ornamentation of the forehead.



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS FROM SUSSEX. PL. I

PLATE I. FIG. 3.

Obv.—Two corded lines across the field, terminated at either end by a ring ornament; between them two wheels; in the spandrels formed by the lines and wheels are six pellets, placed so as to make a rectangle. In chief and in base a ring ornament flanked by two pellets; on either side of the corded lines masses of conventional hair, and on the dexter side a beaded line.

Rev.—Horse with disjointed limbs to the left; below a bird at rest; above a wheel; plain and ornamented pellets semées in the field.

(Weight 18 grains, sp. gr. 14·5.)

This coin, which is very much dished, has many points in common with Evans, Pl. G, 1. It is of the same shape, a long oval, and the horse in both instances is fashioned in a similarly extended manner. The object beneath it is in one case a bird, in the other an undescribed specimen of natural history—perchance a boar, perchance a wolf, perchance a wading bird with an additional leg. Its signification depends, as in many examples of symbolical ornament, upon the imagination of the beholder.

On both obverses are to be seen the twisted coils of hair. On the silver coin they are loose and tangled, but on Plate I. Fig. 2, they are reduced into an orderly wreath embossed with two wheels. This is quite a novel arrangement of Apollo's laurel crown, and is a satisfactory adaptation in design.

PLATE I. FIG. 4.

Obv.—Portions of laureate bust to the right; a wheel intermixed with the face.

Rev.—Relic of a horse to the left; above a wheel.

This type is represented by a single specimen, weighing 13 grains, and having a sp. gr. of 12.

PLATE I. FIG. 5.

Obv.—Band composed of a corded line, between two plain lines across the field; in front a star and a rosette; behind lanceolate figures (locks of hair) and two pellets joined by a bar.

Rev.—Disjointed horse, embossed with ring ornaments, to the left; two radiated plates and three ornamented pellets in the field.

(Weight 12 grains.)

This coin is what I have called "transitional." Its colour and specific gravity, and partly its character, resemble that of the inscribed coins, whilst in some things it bears a likeness to the preceding type and those of Evans, E, 2 and 3.

PLATE I. FIG. 6.

Obv.—Voided cross, composed of two parallel beaded lines intersecting two others at right angles; at their point of contact they enclose a ring ornament; a ring ornament also terminates that limb which is perfectly displayed; in two angles are locks of hair, and in front two open crescents; behind the whole a line of ring ornaments.

Rev.—Barbarous horse with a beaded mane to the left; below a mullet; above a rosette.

(Weight 16 grains, sp. gr. 12.)

PLATE I. FIG. 7.

Obv.—A triple beaded wreath across the field, between two open crescents placed outwardly.

Rev.—Horse with tripartite tail to the left; above a rosette; below a raised ornamented plate; in front a plate joined to the horse by a bar.

(Weight 15½ grains, sp. gr. 13.)

A coin very similar was found in Ashdown Forest, and is figured in Evans, Pl. E, 5, but the horse on this specimen is to the right.

PLATE I. FIG. 8.

Obv.—A raised band across the field; on it two ornamented pellets.

Rev.—A strange figure, consisting of an ornamented pellet, from which issue three arms at equal distances, the upper arm expanding laterally, fan-shaped; the lower limbs are plain bars terminated by small annulets; on either side a wavy fillet runs out of the field; above, to the right, two annulets braced.

Somewhat similar to that figured in Evans, E, 11. (Weight 13 grains, sp. gr. 10.)

PLATE I. FIG. 9.

Obv.—Plain, with two raised bands across the field.

Rev.—Barbarous horse to the right; in front a rosette; above a plate with beaded edge.

(Weight 12½ grains, sp. gr. 11.)

PLATE I. FIG. 10.

Obv.—A circular wreath enclosing a raised pellet.

Rev.—Horse tripping to the right; above a bar crossing the field obliquely, another pendant from it; below a small pellet.

(Weight 15 grains, sp. gr. 11·5.)

This type has been figured before (Evans, Plate E, Fig. 6) as from the Bognor hoard, but owing to the imperfect state of the specimen from which that engraving was executed, it is represented as having a dog instead of a

horse on the reverse. The general character of the wreath on the obverse is slightly different from that shown by Mr. Evans. The stalk from which the branches issue is more apparent, and the latter are truncated and blunt instead of being ovate.

The two bars above the horse are, doubtlessly, remnants of the reins and arm of the charioteer.

The type varies in weight from 14 to 16 grains, and is of the usual specific gravity of the red gold coins.

PLATE I. FIG. 11.

Obv.—Two corded lines across the field; between them two ornamented pellets; on either side the bars three annulets braced.

Rev.—Barbarous horse with beaded mane to the left; below a rosette; above an ogee-curved figure; pellets in the field.

These coins are nearly all of a red gold, specific gravity about 12, and their weight varies from 12½ grains to 15, according to the state of preservation in which they are found.

The bent figure above the horse may have been copied, as before suggested, from the beakless bird on Fig. 1.

INSCRIBED SERIES (PLATE II.)

TINCOMMIUS.

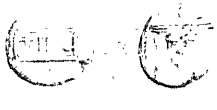
PLATE II. FIGS. 1 AND 2.

Obv.—TINC. on a raised tablet; above C; below A.

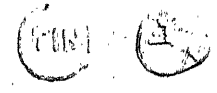
Rev.—Full-faced head of Medusa, in high relief.

Two engravings of this type are given, because of the great difference to be observed in their execution. The

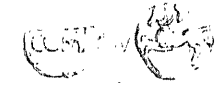








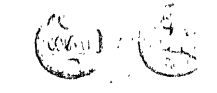




















marked superiority of design in Fig. 1 cannot fail to strike even the most casual observer. I have seen twenty coins of this type which may be all distinctly referred to one model or the other; there is no gradation of type. Fig. 1 is as fine in workmanship as some of the best Roman coins, and it is difficult to believe that it was executed by a barbarian. Fig. 2 is much inferior, and is probably a provincial copy.

Attention must also be drawn to the fact that the letters C A appear above and below the tablet, not C F, as was formerly supposed. Can this be intended for the first part of the word Calleva? or are the letters the initials of Calleva Atrebatum? In either case it would suggest that Calleva was the capital of Tincommius as well as of Eppillus, and would tend to confirm the view of his rule over that tribe.[4]

Both varieties weigh from 14 to 15½ grains, and are pretty constant in the specific gravity of 11.

PLATE II. FIG. 3.

Obv.—COM. F. on a sunk tablet.

Rev.—Horse, bridled, galloping to the right; above TIN.; below ↄ.

This coin is figured by Mr. Evans (Pl. II., Fig. 5), but the reversed C below the horse is not shown on the coin there engraved. The type weighs from 14½ to 16½ grains, specific gravity 11·5.

PLATE II. FIG. 4.

Obv.—TIN. on a sunk tablet.

Rev.—An undescribed animal, with mane erect, salient, to the left.

[4] On one coin the letter B occurs in the place of A.

Several slight circumstances seem to point to this being an early type. Its weight is rather more than those which precede it; generally 15·5 to 16 grains. Its specific gravity is higher—12 to 12·5. The letters are plainer and larger than those on which COM. F. occur; apparently, legibility of character was esteemed more essential by the engraver than excellence in design.

PLATE II. FIG. 5.

Obv.—COM. F. on a sunk tablet.

Rev.—Horse, bridled, prancing, to the left; above TI, below C.

PLATE II. FIG. 6.

Obv.—COM. F. on a sunk tablet.

Rev.—Horse similar to number 5; above T.

(Weight from 15 to 16 grains, sp. gr. about 11·5.)

VERICA.

PLATE II. FIG. 7.

Obv.—Partly draped figure seated to the right, holding the hasta. VERICA reading inwardly.

Rev.—A horseman charging to the right, holding on his left arm a target, in his right hand a short sword; above and to the left COM. reading outwardly.

(Weight 14·3 grains, sp. gr. 11·7.)

PLATE II. FIG. 8.

Obv.—Imperial laureated bust to the right. VIRI reading inwardly.

Rev.—Similar to the last.

(Weight 10·3 grains, sp. gr. 12·2.)

These two coins may well be considered together, as the reverse is similar on both; indeed, observations made

through a powerful glass tend to the conclusion of their origin being from the same die, as they appear identical even to the most minute details.

As one of the coins is inscribed VERICA and the other VIRI., they may be considered as together establishing the identity of VERICA and VIRICA, though little was wanting before to substantiate that fact.

This is the first example of the charging horseman (common on the larger pieces) appearing on the small coins; and it is to be noticed that the rider is armed with the round studded buckler, and not with the oblong shield, with which means of defence he is portrayed on the larger coins.

The only other instances of this shaped shield occurring on British coins are—1st, on a bronze coin of Cunobelin, Evans, XII. 14, where the horseman is similarly armed; 2nd, on a bronze coin of the same king, reading also TASCIIOVANTIS, where a standing military figure holds a round buckler on his left arm. In this case the shield is seen in profile, and appears highly convex.

It is also remarkable that the "horse and its rider" have been transferred to the convex face of the coin, though (in the engravings) they are figured on the right hand in order to make the series appear homogeneous.

The seated figure is probably Victory, and may have been copied from the reverse of one of the consular coins of the Porcia family. It is interesting to note this first connection of the figure with Britain, as, with a very slight modification, it was soon after to appear emblematic of the province, and to find its memory hereafter perpetuated in the Britannia of our present copper coinage. It requires little imagination to transfigure the curule into the rock, and to replace the hasta by a military ensign, and by so

doing we have the symbolical reverse adopted by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. This figure is not new, as its counterpart appears on two silver coins of Verica, figured in Evans (Pl. III., 5 and 6), and found, one at Richborough in Kent, the other on Farley Heath.

The laureated head may perhaps be taken to be the portrait of our ancient prince Verica, but I regard it as more probable that it was intended to represent his suzerain Augustus.

PLATE II. FIG. 9.

Obv.—An expanded leaf (oak or maple or vine) covering the field. VIRI. reading outwardly.

Rev.—Horseman charging to the right, similar in every respect to that figured on the obverse of types 7 and 8, but enclosed within a beaded circle; below the horse REX; above F.

(Weight 16 grains, sp. gr. 11·4.)

This is the first coin with the leaf on the obverse that has been found in this denomination, and its weight is nearer one-fifth than a quarter of the larger type, which generally weighs 80 to 82 grains.

PLATE II. FIG. 10.

Obv.—COM. F. on a sunk tablet; above and below a crescent pointing outwardly; both are terminated at either end by pellets.

Rev.—A bridled horse of barbarous design to the left; above VIR.; below a wheel.

This type, which is a very poorly designed one, is of a red gold; specific gravity about 13, and the two specimens which have been found weigh 16 grains.

PLATE II. FIG. 11.

Obv.—A thunderbolt across the field; above COM.; below FILI.

Rev.—Horse galloping to the right; above VIR.; below a ring ornament.

The importance of this coin has been already referred to, and it remains but to say that the two specimens which have been found, weighing respectively 16 and 11 grains, and of specific gravity of 10·4, are from different dies: on the heavier the horse and annulet beneath it are both larger than on the inferior variety.

PLATE II. FIG. 12.

Obv.—COM. F. on a sunk tablet; above and below a ring ornament; the whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—Horse to the right; above VI.; below an exergual line and a reversed pyramid of pellets; the whole within a beaded circle.

Similar to Evans, Pl. II. 13 and Pl. III. 1 and 2, with the exception of the little pellets above the exergue.

EPPILLUS.

PLATE II. FIG. 13.

Obv.—CALLEV. across the field; above, a six-pointed star; the whole surrounded by a beaded circle.

Rev.—EPPI. above a horse galloping to the right.

(Weight 16 grains, sp. gr. 11.)

This coin, to which reference has already been made, closely resembles the silver coin, Evans, Plate IV. Fig. 1, a type whose provenance has been hitherto unascertained.

The objection to Calleva being the mint town of these coins, on account of its distance from the locality in which they usually occur, is obviated in this instance.

PLATE II. FIG. 14.

Obv.—The letter A with the cross-stroke downwards, or the monogram ⅄.

Rev.—Horse with lyre-like mane to the left; above E; below a double ring ornament; in the field fragments of annulets.

This is a variety of the type Evans, Pl. E. 12, which forms a somewhat large proportion in this collection. It is quite evident that it belongs (as Mr. Evans believed would ultimately prove to be the case) to the inscribed series, but to which king it may be referred is uncertain. The symbol ⅄ may be V E in monogram, in the same way that some of the coins of Antedrigus are inscribed, and in which many Roman inscriptions are traced—notably the one at Chichester before referred to—or it may be a badly formed E for Eppillus. Considering, however, in what number the coins of Verica occur in comparison to those of his brother, I am inclined to assign it to the former prince, especially as on one of the large vine-leaf coins in Mr. Evans's cabinet the uppermost transverse stroke of the E is absent, giving a similar figure, Ɛ.

I must not conclude without publicly acknowledging the debt I owe to our distinguished president in connection with numismatics generally, and with this series of coins, to which he has given so much attention, in particular. Himself an ardent collector, he has ever been ready to assist with his knowledge a young beginner, whom fortune had in a sense made a rival.

For first awakening an interest in this obscure period of history, for at all times giving me the advantage of his kindly aid, judicious counsel, and authoritative experience, I tender him sincere and heartfelt thanks.

ERNEST H. WILLETT.

LIST I.

UNINSCRIBED.

Series A.—True-British.

Type.	Wt.	Sp. Gr.	No.	Types.	Total.
Evans, Plate B, fig. 9 . .	78-90	13·5	5		
,, ,, B, fig. 10 . .			3		
,, ,, B, fig. 7 . .	103	16·	1		
,, ,, B, fig. 6 . .	96	13·2	1		
,, ,, B, fig. 8 . .	94	14·	2		
,, ,, D, fig. 7 . .	76	11·3	1		
,, ,, F, fig. 1 . .	89	10·	1		
				7	14
,, ,, B, fig. 14, or E, fig. 2	20	14	25		
,, ,, B, fig. 15 . .	15	12	2		
,, ,, E, fig. 3 . .	11-20	13	6		
Plate 1, fig. 4, Num. Chron. .	13	12	1		
,, fig. 6 ,, .	16	12	1		
,, fig. 1, 2A and 2B ,, .	20	13·5	6		
,, fig. 3 ,, .	18	14·5	1		
Evans, Plate D, fig. 4 . . .	22·4	14·	1		
,, ,, E, fig. 10 . .	21	15·	7		
Varieties of this type . .	22	15·	7		
One unintelligible variety of E 10	21	15	1		
Concave varieties[1] . . .	18	13	3		
One small plain disk . . .	16		1		
Num. Chron., Plate I., fig. 9[2] .	12·5	11	1		
,, ,, ,, I., fig. 8[2] .	13	10	1		
,, ,, ,, I., fig. 7[2] .	15·5	13	1		
,, ,, ,, I., fig. 5[2] .	12		1		
				17	66

Series B.—Romano-Celtic.

Evans, E 6, Num. Chron. Plate I., fig. 10	15	11·5	11		
Num. Chron. Plate I., fig. 11 .	14·5	12	18		
Evans, Pl. E 12[3]	15·5	11·5	26		
Num. Chron. Plate II., fig. 14[3] .	15·	11·0	3		
				4	58
				28	138

[1] Coins with no device upon them, but very hollow in shape.
[2] Are transitional in character.
[3] These two might be classed with the inscribed coins.

INSCRIBED.

COMMIUS?

Type.	Wt.	Sp. Gr.	No.	Types.	Total.
Evans, Plate I., fig. 10 . .			1	1	1
TINCOMMIUS.					
Num. Chron., Plate II., fig. 1 .	14·5	11·	13		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 2 .	15	11·	9		
Evans, Plate II., fig. 2 . .	16	11·5	14		
,, ,, II., fig. 6 . .	16	12·	3		
Num. Chron., Plate II., fig. 3 .	15·5	11·5	29		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 4 .	15·	12·0	10		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 5 .	16·	11·5	14		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 6 .	15·	12·	1		
				8	93
Evans, Plate II., fig. 12 . .	82	12·5	3		
				1	3
				9	96
VERICA.					
Evans, Plate II., fig. 10 . .	80	11·5	1		
				1	1
,, ,, II., fig. 12 . .	16	11·	9		
,, ,, III., figs. 1 and 2 .			9		
Num. Chron., Plate II., fig. 7 .	14	12	1		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 8 .	10	12	1		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 9 .	16	11·4	2		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 10 .	16	12·5	2		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 11 .	16	10·	2		
,, ,, ,, II., fig. 12 .	15·5	11·5	1		
				8	27
				9	28
EPPILLUS.					
Num. Chron., Plate II., fig. 13 .	16	11	2		
				1	2
				20	127

ERRATA.

Page 310, line 26, *for* Nos. 1 and 2 *read* Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
Page 321, line 12 (large type), *for* Pl. I. fig. 2 *read* Pl. I. fig. 3.

LIST II.

(Summary of List I.)

UNINSCRIBED.

	Types.	Number.	Types.	Number.
Series A.—"British" (large) . .	7	14		
" " (small) . .	17	66		
Series B.—"Romano-Celtic" . .	4	58		
			28	138

INSCRIBED.

COMMIUS (large)	1	1	1	1
TINCOMMIUS (large) . . .	1	3		
TINCOMMIUS (small) . . .	8	93	9	96
VERICA (large)	1	1		
VERICA (small)	8	27	9	28
EPPILLUS (small)	1	2	1	2
			20	127
As above			28	138
Total			48	265

XII.

ON THREE ROMAN MEDALLIONS OF POSTUMUS, COMMODUS, AND PROBUS.

I HAVE the pleasure of calling the attention of the Society to three Roman medallions in my own collection. The most important of these is of fine workmanship and considerable interest, and although not unpublished appears to be so rare that the specimen now exhibited is almost the only one with the legend perfect that I have been able to trace as at present in existence. It is formed of two metals, an outer ring of yellow brass and an inner mass of copper, which, during the process of striking, have been brought into such close contact that the line of junction is almost invisible. The object which the ancient moneyers had in view when they were at the trouble of striking these composite medallions seems to have been twofold; first, to exhibit a kind of *tour de force* in their art, and secondly, to bring up a sharp impression from their die, accompanied by a neat circular rim free from cracks and distortion. The tough brass kept its form under the dies better in the shape of a ring surrounding a centre of softer metal than it would have done had the whole flan been formed of it; while the soft copper took its impression more readily, in consequence of its being prevented from spreading under the dies by the

tough brass ring. Owing possibly to some galvanic action being set up between the two metals of which the medallion is composed, but a slight degree of oxidation or patination has taken place, and what little patina had formed has for the most part shelled off. In consequence of this the medallion has at the first sight a rather suspicious appearance, but a somewhat closer examination will suffice to convince any one acquainted with Roman art of its perfect authenticity. Indeed, the mere fact of its being composed of two metals is almost, though not quite, a sufficient guarantee for its antiquity.

It is, however, time to give a description of the piece, which is of the Emperor Postumus.

Obv.—IMP. C. M. CAS. LATI. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG. Laureate busts of Postumus and Hercules to the right, that of the former draped.

Rev.—FELICITAS POSTVMI AVG. The Emperor veiled and wearing the toga standing to the left, holding in his right a patera above a sacrificial tripod. In front of him Felicitas standing looking to the right; in her right hand a long caduceus; in her left a cornucopiæ; behind her a young naked *popa* or *victimarius* leading an ox.

(Pl. XI., No. 2. Æ. 12.)

A medallion of bronze of the same types exists in the French Cabinet, but the legends cannot be deciphered. It is engraved by Banduri. The legends have been supplied from a specimen in the d'Ennery collection, No. 2441, which is mentioned by Beauvais in his "Histoire abrégée des Empereurs," tome ii. p. 51, as being "à fleur de coin" and composed of two metals. In d'Ennery's catalogue the obverse legend is, however, given as IMP. C. M. CAS. LAT. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG., and not as

reading LATI. M. de Witte, in describing the medallion, makes the obverse legend give CASS. instead of CAS., and doubtfully suggests COS III as being on the exergue of the reverse. He also places an ? after AVG.

An engraving of the reverse of a perfect specimen of this medallion is given in Frœhner's recently published "Médaillons de l'Empire Romain," but the author does not state where the original exists.

The legend on the obverse of a specimen described in the "Mus. Wiczay Hedervar," vol. ii., No. 2900, Tab. IV. No. 38, is precisely that of mine. The same form occurs on the medallion No. 71 of De Witte,[1] with the reverse of HERCVLI COMITI AVG. As to the authenticity of this type, though formerly contested, M. de Witte says that the specimen which he has engraved from the collection of M. Buvignier, of Verdun, leaves no doubt. The type was first published by Morell,[2] and accepted by Banduri, Vaillant, and Eckhel; the specimen, like that now under consideration, being composed of two metals. From the identity of the design and legend of the obverse with those of the FELICITAS medallion, and from the extreme similarity between the reverse types, both medallions would appear to belong to the same period, and may probably have been the work of the same engraver. The style of workmanship is far superior to that of the ordinary coins of Postumus, and at first sight so much resembles that of the time of Commodus as to lead to a doubt as to the authenticity of the medal. It must, however, be remembered that the same

[1] "Recherches sur les Empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules au 3ème siècle."

[2] "Spec. Rei Num.," p. 42, Plate II.



1





2





3



MEDALLIONS.

COMMODUS. POSTUMUS AND PROBUS.

superiority of workmanship is to be remarked on most of the gold coins of Postumus, some of which, like that with the three-quarter bust (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v., Pl. VI. 6), are marvellous works of art. As Eckhel[3] truly says, "Insignes in comitatu suo monetarios habuisse Postumum probant ejus numi aurei quorum complures eâ arte elaborati sunt, quam neque altius imperatorum ævum fastidiret."

As to the type of the obverse but little need be said. The joined heads of Postumus and Hercules are of not unfrequent occurrence upon the coins of that emperor, whose devotion to Hercules is well known and has been the subject of comment by many numismatists, and especially by M. de Witte.[4] I have already made some remarks upon these coins with the yoked heads when describing a gold coin of this emperor with the reverse of FELICITAS AVG and the busts of Victory and Peace.

On this medallion it is the goddess Felicitas herself to whom the emperor is sacrificing. She bears her usual attributes—the caduceus in the one hand and the cornucopiæ in the other—the emblems of peace and plenty. Although a usurper, possibly against his will, Postumus appears to have maintained a firmer and better government in Gaul than did the more legitimate emperors in the other portions of the great Roman empire, and, as the late Professor Ramsay has pointed out, the number of his coins and the skilful workmanship displayed upon them prove that the arts of peace were not despised at his

[3] "Doct. Num.," vol. vii. p. 445.
[4] See "Rev. Num.," vol. ix. 1844, p. 330.
[5] "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. viii. p. 22 /.

court. As it will probably be thought that this medallion is worthy of being figured in the Numismatic Chronicle, I have selected two other medallions, also in my own collection, in order to fill up a plate, both being of considerable rarity.

The first, No. 1 in the plate, is of Commodus.

Obv.—L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. III. Youthful laureate bust to the left, with the paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—IMP. II. COS. P. P. Commodus in military dress, but with the head bare, marching to the right; in his right hand a spear, in his left a trophy resting on his shoulder. Æ. 12.

This medallion, but of the following year, TR. P. IIII, has been published by Cohen[6] in his supplementary volume from an example in the cabinet of the Marquis de Moustier. He describes the marching figure on the reverse as being that of Romulus. It will, however, at once be seen that it is Commodus himself who is here represented, the portrait, though on so small a scale, being the exact counterpart of that on the obverse. On a second brass coin of the same year TR·P·IIII, and with the same legend on the reverse (Cohen, No. 549), it is a helmeted Mars who is marching to the right, also with the spear and trophy.

The medallion now before us may not improbably have been struck in honour of the expedition of Commodus, in company with his father Aurelius, to the scene of the German war, which Eckhel, following Lampridius, fixes as having commenced on August 5th, A.D. 178, the year

[6] Vol. vii. p. 197.

in which this medallion was struck. Commodus must at this time have been about seventeen years old, and had already commenced his career of cruelty and vice, qualities of which his innocent-looking youthful portrait seems to show no symptoms.

The third medallion, shown in the plate as No. 3, is of the Emperor Probus, and, like the first, is struck on a flan composed of two metals.

Obv.—IMP. C. M. AVR. PROBVS P. AVG. Laureate bust to the left in cuirass, holding a spear over the right shoulder; on the left a buckler, on which is represented Victory crowning the Emperor.

Rev.—ADVENTVS AVG. The Emperor on horseback to the left; his right hand held up; in his left a spear; in front Victory marching, carrying a military standard and garland; behind a soldier carrying a standard. The head of a second soldier is visible behind the horse. Æ. 11½.

This medallion is published by Cohen, No. 64, from the cabinet of M. Dupré, but it is not stated whether that specimen is in two metals. It is hard to assign an exact date to its issue, but it may possibly have been struck on the occasion of the advent of Probus to Rome in A.D. 279, when he celebrated a grand triumph over his barbarian enemies.

JOHN EVANS.



XIII.

DISCOVERY OF COINS OF WILLIAM I. AND WILLIAM II. AT TAMWORTH.

During the execution of the works in connection with the new Board-schools at Tamworth, a workman raised with his pick a small packet somewhat triangular in shape, formed of lead turned over (like a turn-over tart), of which, through the kindness of the Rev. Brooke Lambert, we are able to give a representation above. On opening the case it proved to contain coins, of which four or five were sold and dispersed. The remainder, by the exertions of Mr. A. A. Clarson, of Tamworth, and the Rev. Brooke Lambert, vicar of that town, were saved from dispersion, and were subsequently sent to the Treasury as treasure-trove. From the Treasury the coins were sent to the British Museum for examination, and were found to be two hundred and ninety-four in number. They comprised only four types, all of either William I. or II., viz., Hawkins Nos. 242, 244, 245 (three coins only), and 246, and presented the varieties described in the following list. The first of these types, No. 242, is, as is well known, generally attributed to William the Conqueror, the three others to his son.

The find cannot be considered altogether favourable to the chronological arrangement of types adopted by Hawkins. The intermediate types—or at all events No. 243—being known of all the towns well represented in this hoard, how are we to account for their almost complete absence here? Nor, again, does this find confirm the grounds on which the first of the four types has been attributed to William I. and the other three to William Rufus.[1] If the number of years had intervened between the "PAXS" type and that which followed it which are supposed to have intervened between the last coinage of the Conqueror and the first of Rufus, how is it that we have only these four types in the find—that there are no coins of types earlier than "PAXS"? The natural inference when we find, as here, four (and only four) types represented, is, that they were struck within short intervals one of another. With regard to the argument that the moneyers differ greatly between the types attributed to William I. and those attributed to William II., how far *that* is confirmed it is rather difficult to say. The argument seems to stand pretty evenly balanced, not much more than half the moneyers in type 242 reappearing in the others.[2] Finally, with regard to the actual sequence of these types, we may assert that the find completely confirms the usual arrangement.

C. F. Keary.

[1] It should, however, be remembered that among the coins found at Shillington, Beds (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. p. 227), the principal types were H, 244, 246, and 250, together with some coins of Henry I., H, 252. The appearance of these last affords an argument for assigning the bulk of the coins of William found with them to the second of that name.

[2] Counting, of course, only the towns which are represented in more types than one.

William I. "Paxs" Type. (Hawkins 242.)	William II.? (Hawkins 244.)	(Hawkins 245 and 246.)
	Bedford 4	
	BIGOD? ON BEDEFRD	GODRIC ON BEDFRD
	LIFPI ON BEDEFRI	LIFPINE ON BE . . .
	Bristol 4	
BRIHTPORD ON BRI	BRIHTPORD ON BRIC	BRIHTPORD ON BRIC
		EOLININE ON BRIC
	Cambridge (Grantabrycge) 1	
	PIDERN? ON GRANT	
	Canterbury? 2	
	BRIHT . . . ON ENT?	
	IEIGLRIC ON ENTLI?	
	Chester (Lehreceaster) 9	
ÆLFSI ON LEHECE		
GODRIC ON LEHRE	GODRIC ON LEHRE	[3] GODRIC ON LEHRE (3)
		GODRIC ON LEH (2)
		GODRIC ON LHRE
	Chichester 4	
EDPINE ON CICST	BRVNNAN ON CIC	BRVMAN ON CICE
	BRVNMAN ON CIC	
	Colchester 1	
	PVLFPIC ON COLEC	
	Derby 4	
	GODI . . . ON DERBI	GODPINE ON DERE?
		GVDNIC ON DRBE
		LIFPINE ON DRBI
	Dorchester 3	
		ÆLFGIET ON DORC
		ÆLFGÆT ON DORI
		. . . . . ? ON DOREI
	Dover 1	
GOLDPINE ON DOF		
	Exeter 2	
	SEPINE ON ÆXECI	
	SE . . PINE ON EXECI	

[3] One, Hawkins 245.

William I. "Paxs" Type. (Hawkins 242.)	William II.? (Hawkins 244.)	(Hawkins 245 and 246.)
	Gloucester 3	
SILALƿINE ON 6Eƿ		SE6RIM ON GLE . . . . TOÐ 6LEƿ
	Hastings 2	
DVNIL ON ILÆSTI		DVNIL ON HSTING
	Hereford 7	
ÆGLƿINE ON HRE? LIESTIIII ON HRE (2)	ÆLFƿI ON HRFERI	ÆGLƿINE ON HRI (2) LIFSIIN ON HREF
	Ilchester 3	
	ÆLƿORD ON 6ILFL	[4]BRHTNOÐ ON 6IF LIFƿINE ON 6IFEL
	Lewes? 1	
ƿINRED ON LIEƿN		
	Leicester (Leigceaster) 16	
	LIFƿINE ON LEIL6I (2) LIFINL ON LELIEI SENOLF ON LE . ST	ÆLFƿINE ON LEI6L LIFIL ON LEIEI LIFIL ON LEIELES (2) LIFINL ON LEILEI LIFINL ON LEIELES [4]LIFƿINE ON LEILE LIFƿINE ON LEILI SVNOVLF ON LE6 SVNOVLF ON LEIL SVNOVLF ON LEIEI (2)
	Lincoln 6	
VLF ON LINLOLNE	ALF ON INLO	ÐVRST . . . . ON IN ÐVRST HN LINLOL (2) ÐV . . . IN LINLOL
	London 52	
ÆLFRIL ON LNI ÆƿI ON LVNDEI BRVMIL ON LVND	ÆLFRÆD ON LVN ÆLFRÆD ON LVND (9) BRIHTƿI ON LVND EDRIL ON LVNDE (2) EDRIL ON LVNDNE EDRIL ON LVNDNE	ÆLFƿINE ON LVN BRVNI ON LVND BVT ON LVNDN (4) BVT ON LVNDNE EDƿI ON LVNDE

[4] Hawkins 245.

William I. "Pax" Type. (Hawkins 242.)	William II. ? (Hawkins 244.)	(Hawkins 246.)
	London—(*continued*)	
	EDRIE ON LVNDNEI (2)	EDƿI ON LVNDNE (3)
	EDRIE ON LVNDNEI	EDƿINE ON LVNDE (2)
	EDRIE ON LVNDNI	GODƿINE ON LV
	EDƿI ON LVNDEI	GODƿINE ON LVND (3)
	EDƿI ON LVNDEI	LIFSI ON LVNDE
	EDƿI ON LVNDN	LIFSI ON LVNDN
	EDƿI ON LVNDNI	LIFSLE ON LVNDI
		ƿVLFRIE ON[illegible] V NN
		ƿVLGAR ON LVND
		ƿVLIƿINE ON LVND
		ƿVNRIE ON LVND
		. . . . NEI ON LVND
		. . . . INIE ON LVN
	Maldon 1	
	LIFSVNE ON MÆL	
	Malmesbury 4	
SEƿORD ON MALM	SEƿORD ON MALME	SEƿORD ON MALM (2)
	Norwich 5	
		ÆGLRIE ONORÐƿ
EDƿOLD ONORÐƿ	ÆGL . . E ONORÐƿI	EDƿOLD ONOR
		GODƿINE ON NORÐƿ
	Nottingham 2	
	PI . . . . . ON SVOTINC ?	VLERE ON SOTINGE
	Oxford 5	
BRIIITRED ON OXN		BRVNRÆD ON OXEI
		Sƿ . . . ƿINE ? ON OX
		ƿVLLƿI ON OXNE
		. . . . ƿINE ON OXEI
	Rochester 2	
	GIFTRED ON ROFEC	GVÐMAN ON ROFI
	Salisbury 7	
GODƿINE ON SÆR	GODƿINE ON SAERI	ÆRNEƿI ON SERV
	SEGRIM ON SEREBI	ÆRNƿI ON SERV
		LIFƿORD ON SÆ . . .
		SEGRIM ON SERBI

William I. "Paxs" Type. (Hawkins 242.)	William II. ? (Hawkins 244.)	(Hawkins 246.)
	Sandwich ? 1	
	IELFN . . . SIIND	
	Shaftesbury 1	
		ƿVLFGÆD ON SLE
	Southampton 5	
	SEƿINE ONN MTII	SEƿI ON HAMTV SEƿINE ON HAMT (2) SEƿINE ON MTVN
	Southwark 5	
ALDOINE ON SVÐE LIFƿORD ON SVÐE LIFƿORD ON SVÐEI	LIFƿORD ONN SVÐ	ƿVLGAR ON SVÐ
	Stafford 6	
	GODRIE ON STAFRE GODRIE ON ST . . . D	ÆLFNOÐ ON STF (2) ODRIE ON STFRDI (2)
	Steyning[5] 1	
ÐVRBIGN ON STII		
	Sta ? 1	
	EDLGAERD ON STA	
	Tamworth 33	
	BRVNIE ON TAMƿR (12) DOLIN ON TAMƿR (2) DOLINE ON TAMƿR	BRVNIE ON TAMƿ (9) DVLINE ON TAMƿ (9)
	Thetford 2	
	GODRIE ON ÐTFRD	FOLDÆRD ON ÐTFR
	Wallingford 6	
SƿIRTIE ON ƿALN	ÆLFƿINE ON ƿALE	DOLBERN ON ƿALI (3) DOLERN ON ƿAL
	Warwick 19	
LIFRIE ON ƿERI	GOLDINE ON ƿER	GOLDINE ON ƿERE (3) GOLDINE ON PERƿ (2)

[5] A coin of the same moneyer is in the British Museum reading STNIG.

William I. "Paxs" Type. (Hawkins 242.)	William II.? (Hawkins 244.)	(Hawkins 246.)
	Warwick—(*continued*)	
	6OLDINE ON ꝑERI	SꝑERMANIE ONP RI
	LIFRIE ON ꝑRꝑI	SꝑERMANIE ONꝑRI(2)
	ÐIDRED ON ꝑRꝑIEE (2)	ÐIDRÆD ON ꝑRIꝑ (5)
	Wilton 5	
SEꝑINE ON ꝑILT	ÆLFꝑINE ON ꝑILTI (2)	ÆLFꝑINE ON ꝑITV
		SEꝑINE ON ꝑILTV
	Winchester 10	
ÆLF6ÆRD ON ꝑIN	EDRIE ON ꝑINꝑE	ÆLF6ÆRD ON ꝑIN
SꝑRIEELLINE ONPIN	LIFꝑOLD ON ꝑINEE	ÆLF6ÆRD ON ꝑN
		ÆLF6RD ON ꝑIN
		ÆSTVN ON ꝑINT?
		EOLBRAE ON ꝑINE
		DIMVND? ON ꝑINE
	Worcester 12	
	BALDRIE ON ꝑIHR	BALDRIE ON ꝑIHR
	ESTMÆR ON PIHR	ESTMÆR ON ꝑIII (2)
		ESTMÆR ON ꝑIIIR (5)
		6ODꝑINE ON ꝑIHR
		SEꝑINE ON ꝑHRI
	York 3	
	IILEIF ON EFRꝑIE	ALEF ON EFRꝑIE
		LIFꝑINE ON EOFꝑ
	Wv? 1	
	BALDINE ON ꝑV	
	Uncertain Mints 14	
6ODꝑINE ON	BRNNINE? ON	ÆL6 . . . . . IRT?
	BRVNSTAN ON	BRIIIT . . .
	6ODꝑINE ON	RRVMINE ON
		6ODRIE ON
		EDꝑINE ON
		SEF . . . R ON . . . . . N
		SEꝑINE ON
		Sꝑ6EN ON . . . . . T
		ꝑINRÆD ON NTLE
		ꝑVLFꝑOLD ON
	Illegible	
1	8	9

XIV.

MILLED SILVER COINS WITH THE ELEPHANT, AND ELEPHANT AND CASTLE.

In exhibiting a complete set of these interesting coins to the Numismatic Society, a few remarks upon them may not be altogether out of place.

They are eight in number, and are limited to the reigns of Charles II. and William III.—the former presenting *seven* varieties, and the latter but *one*.

Marshall,[1] alluding to these coins in the introduction to his valuable work upon "The Silver Coin and Coinage of Great Britain," states that they were "from silver brought in by the African Company," and makes no further allusion to them, beyond a description of the pieces. Hawkins,[2] however, in addition, states, "The crowns of 1666 and 1681, with the elephant, or elephant and castle below the bust, being probably intended for circulation in our Colonies, are consequently rare, and very seldom in even tolerable preservation. They were coined from silver imported by the African Company." Looking at the rarity of the coins, and their uniform poorness of

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[1] Marshall's "View of the Coin and Coinage of Great Britain," p. xi. John Hearne, Strand, 1838.

[2] Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England," second edition, p. 379. Bernard Quaritch, 1876.

preservation, the statement that they were exported to our Colonies would appear to be well founded.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the gold coins from the reign of Charles II. to that of George I. exhibit the elephant and elephant and castle under the bust on many dates on each type of coin, viz., five-guinea, two-guinea, guinea, and half-guinea pieces. Hawkins,[3] in an interesting paper communicated to the Numismatic Society, observes that "much of the gold used in the coinage was imported by the African Company, who were allowed to have pieces, which were actually made from their gold, distinguished by an elephant under the king's head." He omits, however, to make mention of the elephant and castle, which was first figured upon a five-guinea piece dated 1676. The gold pieces with these emblems are all rare; but, from their more frequent occurrence, they are neither so rare nor so interesting as the silver coins now under notice.

Before describing these coins, it may be as well to remark that the curious type of an elephant occurs upon the obverse of three highly interesting coins, viz., the Carolina, New England, and London half-pennies of William and Mary; but no connection with the gold and silver coins would appear to exist, as two of these half-pennies were struck for America.

The eight coins may be briefly described as follows:—

Charles II.

Crown.

1. *Obv.*—A small bust of the king, to the left, draped and laureated; under the bust a small elephant.

[3] Hawkins's "Gold Coins of England;" "Num. Chron.," O.S., vol. xiii. p. 46.

CAROLVS · II · DEI · GRATIA. (This bust is perpetuated to 1671.)

Rev.—Four shields of arms crowned with interlinked C's between them: in the top, England; dexter, Ireland; sinister, Scotland; fourth, France; in the centre, the star of the Order of the Garter. MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1666.

Edge.—DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · + ANNO · REGNI · XVIII · + ·

This coin is more ordinarily found in good preservation than any of the set, and is perhaps the least rare. Murchison's, *rare and very fine for this coin,* realised £2 10*s.*; whilst Bergne's, *very fine and rare,* sold for £4 4*s.* Ordinarily well-preserved specimens are worth from £1 10*s.* to £2.

HALF-CROWN.

2. *Obv.*—A bust very similar to the foregoing, and with same legend and emblem.

Rev.—Also similar to No. 1. 1666.

Edge.—Also similar to No. 1.

This coin is perhaps the rarest of the set, and is seldom met with in tolerable preservation. Cuff had one which, with another half-crown dated 1664, realised £1.

SHILLING.

3. *Obv.*—Similar to the bust upon the shilling of 1663.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1. 1666.

Edge.—Milled, with straight lines.

This coin is not uncommon, and its value much depends upon its state of preservation. Bergne's, *remarkably fine,* sold for £2 15*s.* The specimen exhibited is an unusually fine one.

SHILLING.

4. *Obv.*—A rather larger bust, laureated but undraped, and similar in all respects to the guinea of 1665.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1. 1666.

Edge.—Milled, with straight lines.

This coin is rarer than the last; and very few fine specimens are known. It has not been distinctly ascertained whether it was a current coin, or merely intended as a pattern for a shilling: its generally worn state would, however, warrant the former inference. Cuff's, *well preserved*, sold for £1 1*s.*; Christmas's, *fine* (?), for 5*s.*; Bergne's, *remarkably fine*, for £1 9*s.*; and Hawkins's, *fine*, for £1 11*s.*

CROWN.

5. *Obv.*—A large and boldly executed bust, with elephant and castle underneath. Legend as No. 1.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1, but dated 1681.

Edge.—+ DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · ANNO · · · REGNI · TRICESIMO · TERTIO +.

This is a uniformly poorly preserved coin, and is very rare. Cuff's sold for £1 2*s.*; and Marshall's for £1 6*s.*; reference to their state being omitted, the usual inference may be made.

HALF-CROWN.

6. *Obv.*—Similar to the foregoing.

Rev.—Also similar. 1681.

Edge.—Also similar.

This coin ranks in rarity next to the elephant half-crown of 1666. I have seen but one that can be described fairly as well preserved; it exists in the cabinet of Mr. Neck. Marshall's, described as *very well preserved*, sold for

£2 9*s.*; and Cuff's, *well preserved*, for £2 3*s.* The specimen exhibited is in the usual poor state.

SHILLING.

7. *Obv.*—A small bust, somewhat similar to that on the elephant shilling of 1666. Legend similar to the foregoing.

Rev.—Similar to the foregoing. 1681.

Edge.—Milled with diagonal straight lines.

The elephant and castle upon this coin are very badly executed—the castle being little more than two straight lines. It is a somewhat curious fact that, though the "large head" figures upon the crown and half-crown, and had already been introduced upon the shilling as early as 1674, the *small* bust should have been reverted to. The shilling is far more frequently met with than the larger pieces.

WILLIAM III.

HALF-CROWN.

8. *Obv.*—The usual bust, to the left, draped and laureated, with elephant and castle underneath. GVLIELMVS · III · DEI · GRA.

Rev.—Arms in four shields, crowned, with those of Nassau in the centre. MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX. 1701.

Edge.—DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · ANNO · REGNI · DECIMO · TERTIO · + +.

This coin concludes the series; and it is worthy of remark that not a specimen is known in even tolerable preservation. Marshall's, *well preserved*, sold for £1 1*s.*; Cuff's, *poor*, for 14*s.*; Murchison's, *poor*, for the ridiculous sum of 4*s.* 6*d.*; and Hawkins's for £1.

The subjoined statement will show which of these coins

were possessed by the collectors specified. It will be observed that but one of them—the Rev. H. Christmas—offered the eight coins for sale. Rishton, however, lacked only one, and that by no means the rarest of the set.

Sale.	Charles II. Crown, 1666.	Charles II. Half-crown, 1666.	Charles II. Shilling, 1666.	Charles II. Shilling. (bare bust) 1666.	Charles II. Crown, 1681.	Charles II. Half-crown, 1681.	Charles II. Shilling, 1681.	Willm III. Half-crown, 1701.
Cuff, 1859 . . .				+	+	+		+
Christmas, 1864 .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Murchison, 1864	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
Bergne, 1873 . .	+		+	+				
Rishton, 1875 .	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Dupuis, 1877 . .	+				+			
Hawkins, 1877 .	+		+	+	+	+	+	+

In view of the very numerous sales of milled coins that have taken place during the last twenty years, it is extremely unlikely that any unpublished coins of the two types will now turn up ; their history, therefore, may be regarded as complete, and "*quantum valeat,*" is offered to the Numismatic Society.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

2, SUSSEX PLACE, REGENT'S PARK,
March 22, 1877.

XV.

MILLED SILVER COINS WITH THE PLUMES.

The distinguishing mark of plumes appears to have been a very important one, and occurs upon many coins of the hammered, as well as the milled series. It occurs specially upon crowns, half-crowns, and shillings of the dates 1621, 1623, and 1624, during the reign of James I., and upon many coins of Charles I. from 1625 to 1646 inclusive. The plume was, moreover, a mint-mark in the year 1630.

From the reign of Charles II. to that of George II. inclusive (with the exception of those of James II. and of William and Mary), the distinguishing mark of plumes was placed upon certain crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, as a means of showing that the silver thus marked was obtained from Wales. Such coins are very numerous, and the plumes were struck between the angles formed by the shields of arms on the reverse, sometimes four in number, one being within each angle; sometimes, however, in alternation with a rose, which combination distinguishes the silver as in part obtained from the West of England. Sometimes, but far more rarely, a plume appears beneath the bust of the monarch; sometimes in lieu of the garter-star in the centre of the reverses; sometimes they appear simultaneously in both places upon the same coin.

Hawkins, in alluding to the plume upon the half-crown of the reign of Charles II., states[1]—"In this reign, as well as the last, the plume was placed upon coins struck from silver derived from the Welsh mines."

Marshall states[2] that "the half-crowns and shillings with the feathers were from silver extracted from the lead mines in Wales." Further, in alluding to the coinage of William III., he remarks[3] that "those pieces with the feathers under the head and between the quarters of the arms on the reverse, were coined out of the Welsh silver from the mines of Sir Carberry Price and Sir Humphrey Mackworth." And again, in his remarks upon the coinage of Anne, he states,[4] "Those pieces with the feathers between the shields were coined from the Welsh silver; but it frequently happened that the silver from the Welsh mines was brought to the mint at the same time with that from the mines in the West of England; and the money coined from the mixture of these two sorts of silver is marked with roses and feathers alternately between the shields, which plan was continued during the reigns of George I. and II." He also alludes[5] to the silver brought to the mint by the Welsh Copper Company, which was also marked with plumes.

The subjoined statement shows in detail a list of all the coins known with this distinctive mark which were struck during the reigns of Charles II., William III., Anne, George I., and George II. With few exceptions, my cabinet contains them all. Some are of great rarity, and many but occasionally met with.

[1] Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England." London, 1876; second edition, p. 380.

[2] Marshall's "View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Great Britain," p. xi. London, 1838.

[3] Ib., p. xv. [4] Ib., p. xix. [5] Ib., p. xx.

	Reign.	Denomination.	Date.	Type.	Remarks.
1	CHARLES II.	Half-crown	1673	Plume under bust	Extra rare (*Marshall, Willett, Barclay, Neck*).
2		,,	1673	Do. *and* in rev. centre	Extra rare (*Cuff, Murchison, Neck*).
3		Shilling	1671	,, ,,	
4		,,	1673	,, ,,	
5		,,	1674	,, ,,	
6		,,	1674	Plume in rev. centre	Very rare (*Wakeford, Hoblyn*).
7		,,	1675	Do. *and* under bust	Rare.
8		,,	1676	,, ,,	Rare.
9		,,	1677	Plume under bust	Rare.
10		,,	1679	,, ,,	Rare.
11		,,	1679	Do. *and* in rev. centre	
12		,,	1680	,, ,,	Rare.
13	WILLIAM III.	Half-crown	1701	Plumes in angles	Rare.
14		Shilling	1698	,, ,,	Rare.
15		,,	1699	,, ,,	
16		,,	1700	Plume under bust	Extra rare (*Cuff, Murchison, Hawkins, Hoblyn*).
17		,,	1701	Plumes in angles	
18		Sixpence	1698	,, ,,	
19		,,	1699	,, ,,	
20		,,	1700	Plume under bust	Extra rare (*Cuff, Christmas*).
21	ANNE.	Crown	1705	Plumes in angles	
22		,,	1706	Roses and Plumes, do.	
23		,,	1707	,, ,,	
24		,,	1708	Plumes in angles	
25		,,	1713	Roses and Plumes, do.	
26		Half-crown	1704	Plumes in angles	Rare (*Wakeford, Hoblyn*).
27		,,	1705	,, ,,	
28		,,	1706	Roses and Plumes, do.	
29		,,	1707	,, ,,	
30		,,	1708	Plumes in angles	
31		,,	1710	Roses and Plumes, do.	Rare.
32		,,	1712	,, ,,	
33		,,	1713	,, ,,	
34		,,	1714	,, ,,	
35		Shilling	1702	Plumes in angles	Rare.
36		,,	1704	,, ,,	Rare (*Wakeford, Hoblyn*).
37		,,	1705	,, ,,	
38		,,	1705	Roses and Plumes, do.	
39		,,	1707	,, ,,	
40		,,	1707	Plumes in angles	
41		,,	1708	,, ,,	
42		,,	1708	Roses and Plumes, do.	
43		,,	1708	,, ,,	Variety of bust. Rare (*Wakeford, Hoblyn*).
44		,,	1710	,, ,,	Rare.
45		,,	1710	,, ,,	Variety of bust. Rare.
46		,,	1712	,, ,,	
47		,,	1713	,, ,,	
48		,,	1714	,, ,,	
49		Sixpence	1705	,, ,,	
50		,,	1705	Plumes in angles	
51		,,	1707	,, ,,	
52		,,	1707	Roses and Plumes, do.	

	Reign.	Denomination.	Date.	Type.	Remarks.
53	ANNE.	Sixpence	1708	Plumes in angles	
54		,,	1710	Roses and Plumes, do.	Rare.
55	GEORGE I.	Crown	1716	Roses and Plumes, do.	
56		,,	1718	,, ,,	
57		,,	1720	,, ,,	
58		,,	1726	,, ,,	
59		Half-crown	1715	,, ,,	
60		,,	1717	,, ,,	
61		,,	1720	,, ,,	
62		Shilling	1715	,, ,,	
63		,,	1716	,, ,,	
64		,,	1717	,, ,,	
65		,,	1718	,, ,,	
66		,,	1719	,, ,,	
67		,,	1720	,, ,,	
68		,,	1721	,, ,,	
69		,,	1722	,, ,,	
70		,,	1723	,, ,,	
71		,,	1723	,, ,,	Variety of bust.
72		,,	1723	Plumes and linked C's	Rare.
73		,,	1724	,, ,,	Rare.
74		,,	1724	Roses and Plumes, do.	
75		,,	1725	Plumes and linked C's	Rare.
76		,,	1725	Roses and Plumes, do.	
77		,,	1726	Plumes and linked C's	Rare.
78		,,	1726	Roses and Plumes, do.	
79		,,	1727	,, ,,	
80		,,	1727	Plumes and linked C's	Very rare.
81		Sixpence	1717	Roses and Plumes, do.	
82		,,	1720	,, ,,	
83		,,	1726	,, ,,	
84	GEORGE II.	Crown	1732	Roses and Plumes, do.	
85		,,	1734	,, ,,	
86		,,	1735	,, ,,	
87		,,	1736	,, ,,	
88		Half-crown	1731	,, ,,	
89		,,	1732	,, ,,	
90		,,	1734	,, ,,	
91		,,	1735	,, ,,	
92		,,	1736	,, ,,	
93		Shilling	1727	,, ,,	
94		,,	1727	Plumes in angles	Rare.
95		,,	1728	Roses and Plumes, do.	
96		,,	1729	,, ,,	
97		,,	1731	,, ,,	
98		,,	1731	Plumes in angles	Extra rare (*Hoblyn*).
99		,,	1732	Roses and Plumes, do.	
100		,,	1734	,, ,,	
101		,,	1735	,, ,,	
102		,,	1736	,, ,,	
103		,,	1737	,, ,,	
104		Sixpence	1728	,, ,,	
105		,,	1728	Plumes in angles	Rare.
106		,,	1731	Roses and Plumes, do.	
107		,,	1732	,, ,,	
108		,,	1734	,, ,,	
109		,,	1735	,, ,,	
110		,,	1736	,, ,,	

Nos. 1 and 2 are extremely rare, No. 2 being probably unique; it is not mentioned by Marshall. Specimens have sold as follows :—

No. 1.	Marshall sale, "*in very fair condition*" .	£3 0*s.*
	Willett sale, "*not fine*" . . .	£2 10*s.*
	Barclay sale, "*not fine*" . . .	£2 14*s.*
No. 2.	Cuff sale, "*well preserved*" . . .	£2 11*s.*
	Murchison sale, "from the Cuff sale" .	12*s.*

A well-preserved specimen of each type exists in the cabinet of Mr. J. F. Neck.

No. 13 is very scarce when in fine preservation, but ordinary specimens are easily procurable. They range in value from about seven shillings to two guineas. In my cabinet is a piece as fine as a proof, perfect in every respect.

Nos. 16 and 20 next claim our attention. These coins are as rare, if not rarer, than the half-crowns of Charles II. So very seldom is either of these pieces met with, that the plume under the bust, which is very minute, has been confounded with a fleur-de-lis. I have, however, fortunately succeeded in securing a specimen of the shilling, which, though nearly as poor as a coin can be, still undoubtedly shows the mark under the bust to be a plume. Specimens have sold as follows :—

No. 16.	Cuff sale, "*poor but extra rare*" . .	£0 13*s.*
	Hawkins (same coin)	£1 10*s.*
No. 20.	Cuff, "*fine*"	£1 16*s.*

The Rev. Henry Christmas had a specimen of each, but as they were sold in a lot with other coins, they cannot be quoted as regards the prices realised. Murchison also possessed a shilling (lot 446) which, according to the catalogue, was dated 1701. This is probably an error.

No. 98 is a very rare coin. I have seen but one specimen—in my own cabinet; it is, however, in poor state.

The other coins call for no particular remark, and there is little difficulty in procuring specimens of all of them.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

2, SUSSEX PLACE, REGENT'S PARK,
May 7th, 1877.

XVI.

ENGLISH TIN COINS.

CHARLES II.

THIS was the first reign during which tin was used in our national coinage. Pewter had been employed in coining farthings during the time of the Commonwealth, and some *pattern* farthings of tin were prepared during the reign of Charles I., and the early part of that of Charles II.; but these remained patterns, and copper was the metal used for halfpence and farthings in the year 1672, when, by a Royal Proclamation, dated 16th of August of that year, these coins were first made current. But in the year 1679 or 1680, according to Snelling,[1] "there was a project on foot to make them of tin, it being at that time cheaper than ever known to have been before, so that his Majesty had reaped no advantage from his prerogative of pre-emption after 1666, which was used to be farmed for £12,000 per annum." This project was, however, for the time abandoned, until the year 1684, the last year of the king's reign, when "proposals were made to the Commissioners of the Treasury by the Commissioners of the Mint, to coin a halfpenny and farthing of tin, upon his Majesty's own account, by authority from

[1] Snelling's "View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England," p. 36. 1766.

his Majesty, under the Great Seal of England; to be made of the weight of those of copper, being about 20 pence per pound, exactly stamped, and a motto to be put about their edge; the charge of making, coining, and issuing the same, about 4 pence per pound, and 1 lb. weight of tin about 8 pence—in all, about 12 pence per pound weight; so that, if coined at 20 pence, there would arise a profit of about 40 per cent."

Owing to circumstances which have not transpired, the halfpenny never made its appearance; but farthings were issued. They were coined at the Royal Mint, and were made at the rate of eighty farthings to the pound avoirdupois, being, in this respect, similar to the current copper farthing of 1672 and subsequent years. A small stud of copper was struck through the centre of each coin, and an inscription placed upon the edge, "both of which methods," says Snelling, "were taken to render the counterfeiting of them more difficult." He, however, adds that they *were* counterfeited in great numbers.

FARTHING.

1. *Obv.*—Laureated bust of the king in armour to the right, very similar to that on the copper farthing, but not from the same die. CAROLVS · A · CAROLO.

   Rev.—Figure of Britannia seated to the right, a palm branch in her right hand, a spear in her left; by her side a shield bearing the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The exergue is undated. BRITAN NIA ·

   Edge inscribed NVMMORVM ★ FAMVLVS ★ 1684 ★.

2. Precisely similar to No. 1, except in the date, which is 1685.

The meaning of the inscription on the obverse of the coin is doubtful—some inclining to the belief that the coin

was termed a "Carolus;" others being of the opinion that it is intended to signify the direct descent of Charles II. from Charles I., thus ignoring the Commonwealth. The former opinion appears valueless when opposed to the fact that the copper *halfpenny* bears the same inscription; the latter inference seems feasible enough.

The inscription on the edge is also somewhat obscure. Henfrey, in his popular "Guide to English Coins," explains the words NVMMORVM FAMVLVS as meaning "*serving as money* (*i.e.* implying that the coin is made to represent something of greater value than it is intrinsically worth)."

No. 2 is an unpublished coin, existing, so far as I am aware, only in my own cabinet. The date 1685 appears incomprehensible enough, in view of the fact that Charles II. died on the 6th of January, 1685, when, according to "Old Style," then in vogue, the year 1684 had not expired. This farthing was exhibited to the Numismatic Society last year.

The farthing is rare, and is very seldom to be obtained in even tolerable preservation, owing to the perishable nature of the metal.

James II.

Halfpennies and farthings of tin were coined during the reign of this monarch, and no copper was used at the Mint, except for the halfpenny struck for Ireland. Pewter was also employed for the coinage of Ireland during the years 1689 and 1690.

Halfpenny.

Obv.—Laureated bust of the king to the left draped.
IACOBVS · SECVNDVS ·

Rev.—Figure of Britannia seated to the right, as before. The exergue is undated. BRITAN NIA ·

Edge.—Inscribed NVMMORVM ✱ FAMVLVS ✱ 1687 ✱.

Snelling gives no other date of the halfpenny; but Captain Murchison appears to have had one with the date 1685 (lot 422); I have never, however, met with a tin halfpenny bearing any other date but 1687. The Rev. H. Christmas also had two dates (lot 921).

FARTHINGS.

Obv.—Laureated bust of the king in armour to the left. IACOBVS · SECVNDVS.

Rev.—Figure of Britannia seated to the right, as before. The exergue is undated. BRITAN NIA ·

Edge inscribed NVMMORVM ✱ FAMVLVS ✱ 1685 ✱.

No other date is given by Snelling; but Captain Murchison had one dated 1684 (lot 422). In my cabinet is a beautiful proof in tin of the obverse of the farthing; it has neither reverse nor inscription on the edge, and is without the stud of copper struck through the centre, and was formerly in the Bergne cabinet.

These coins are both rare. Cuff's halfpenny and farthing, both in fine condition, sold for 16*s.*; Murchison's halfpenny, 1685, and farthing, 1684, "very fine," realised 12*s.*; and Hadwen's halfpenny and farthing, apparently both dated 1685, sold for £1.

There remains to be described another coin of tin; it appears to have been struck for the American Plantations during this reign:—

HALFPENNY (?).

Obv.—Figure of the king on horseback to the left in armour, laureated, and wearing a wide sash; in his right hand a truncheon: the horse stands upon a pedestal, and is rearing upon his

hind legs. IACOBVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

Rev.—Four shields, crosswise, crowned; the crowns dividing the words of the legend: the shields, which are joined by chains, bear the arms separately of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland. VAL · 24 · PART · REAL · HISPAN ·

Edge milled with a beading.

The Rev. H. Christmas, in a paper communicated to the society in 1862,[2] appears to have attached a great deal of mysterious importance to this piece. He says—

"This is an ominous coin; the acceptance of a Spanish currency, the submission to Spain implied, the binding of the arms of the various kingdoms together by chains, all point out this piece as a numismatic curiosity." I confess my own inability to second these dark inferences.

The dies of this piece came into the possession of the late Mr. Matthew Young in the year 1828, together with several dies for patterns of gold and silver coins of the elder Pretender. He struck off many specimens of the Plantation halfpenny, but original impressions are very rare.

William and Mary.

Halfpennies and farthings of tin were coined during this reign until the year 1692 inclusive, after which year several proposals were made to coin them of a different metal. Finally, copper halfpennies and farthings were re-introduced in the year 1694; and tin, as a medium of coinage, has never been reverted to.

Halfpenny.

1. *Obv.*—Busts of the king and queen to the left, that of the former with long hair, laureated and in armour. GVLIELMVS ET · MARIA.

[2] "Copper Coinage of the British Colonies in America," p. 4. 1862.

Rev.—Figure of Britannia, seated to the right, as before. In exergue, 1689. BRITAN NIA ·

Edge inscribed NVMMORVM + FAMVLVS + 1689 +.

2. Similar, but dated 1690 on edge, and not in exergue.
3. Similar, but dated 1691 on edge, and not in exergue.
4. Similar, but dated 1691 on edge, and also in exergue.
5. Similar, but dated 1692 on edge, and not in exergue.
6. Similar, but dated 1692 on edge, and also in exergue.

Snelling omits No. 6, a specimen of which is in my cabinet.

FARTHING.

1. *Obv.*—Busts of the king and queen to the left, that of the former with long hair, laureated and in armour. GVLIELMVS ET · MARIA.

   Rev.—Figure of Britannia, seated to the right, as before. In exergue, 1690. BRITAN NIA ·

   Edge inscribed NVMMORVM + + FAMVLVS · 1690 ·

2. Similar, but dated 1691 on edge, and also in exergue.
3. Similar, but dated 1692 on edge, and also in exergue.

These coins are rare. At the Hadwen sale (lot 206) a halfpenny and farthing, both dated 1690, realised 16*s*.

At the sale of the Rev. H. Christmas in 1864, a set of five tin coins (*i.e.* Charles II. farthing, James II. halfpenny and farthing, and William and Mary halfpenny and farthing) realised 25*s*.

In my cabinet is a halfpenny of William and Mary, apparently of lead, and without the plug of copper in the centre. The edge is plain, but the date in the exergue is 1694. I am disposed to believe it to be a forgery or imitation of the copper halfpenny of that year, which it exactly resembles; although there is little doubt, from its

worn appearance, that it has done duty in its time as a tin halfpenny.

I conclude this brief notice of these interesting coins with the following extract from Snelling:—

"These tin farthings and halfpence continued to be coined till the year 1692, in which year several proposals were made to coin them of a different metal again; and we learn, from one of those papers, that there had been coined in this metal, between March, 1684, and January, 1692, the quantity of 344 ton(s), amounting to £65,629 15*s.* 9*d.*, which is very near 21 pence per lb. weight: it is also said that tin was £65 per ton (or near 7*d.* per lb.); and 344 ton(s) at that rate is £21,960, being not one-fourth of the coinage duty, which we have just now seen was estimated at about £12,000 per annum."

Richard A. Hoblyn.

2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park,
May 16*th*, 1877.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c. London, 1877. 8vo., 274 pp.

We are glad to have again to call attention to a volume of the series of Catalogues printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, and edited by Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole. The portion of the volume now before us which relates to the coins of Thrace and the Islands is by Mr. Barclay V. Head, and the rest of the volume by Mr. Percy Gardner—names which to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle will be a sufficient guarantee for the completeness and careful execution of the work.

The arrangement adopted is geographical; but in nearly all cases the autonomous coins of the various cities have been grouped chronologically, which adds much to the value and interest of the catalogue. The standards of weight, according to which the coins in the precious metals were issued, have also been added where practicable, the system adopted being that of the late Dr. Brandis.

The same method of illustration, by means of carefully executed woodcuts, and the same plan of comprehensive Indices, are pursued in this as in the former volumes, and render it easy to consult and readily comprehensible.

The coinage of the countries comprised in this volume does not as a rule rank so high in artistic merit as that of Sicily or Italy, described in the earlier volumes, and Index VI. of engravers' names contains no more than a remark that possibly one name or more may occur among those of the king's tyrants, &c. in Index IV. A. Still many of the coins represented in this volume, like those of Ænus, are of no contemptible skill, and many of the series, as for instance that of Byzantium, the future Constantinople, of great interest.

The series of coins of the early kings of Thrace comprises some rare and, we believe, unique coins, including that of Seuthes I., with **ΣΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ**, engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, O.S., vol. xx. p. 151, No. 1, and described by

Dr. Samuel Birch. The corresponding coin, with ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ, seems to be [illegible] in our national collection.

While admiring these catalogues in their present form, we regret that it is found necessary to attach so high a price to them. No doubt this arises from the great cost of the woodcut illustrations, but we venture to think that steel engravings would give even better representations of the coins, while, if it is thought a necessity that they should be inserted in the text, the new process by which blocks for surface-printing can be produced from engraved plates, would lend itself admirably for the purpose.

Another suggestion we would venture to make, which is, that where the coin is of so high a degree of rarity, as in the case of the coin of Seuthes lately mentioned, that a special treatise has been written upon it, reference should be made in the catalogue to such sources of farther information with regard to its history. And again, is any useful purpose served by running the whole legend together where there can be no possible doubt as to its proper subdivision? We may be Philistines, but we must confess a preference to Γ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΟΥΗΡ. ΜΑΞΙΜΟC ΚΑΙC and ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΓ. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΙCΑ ΑΥΓ. over ΓΙΟΥΛΟΥΗΡΜΑΞΙΜΟC ΚΑΙC and ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCΑΥΓΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΙCΑΑΥΓ. J. E.

The International Numismata Orientalia. Edited by Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S. 4to. London, 1874-77.

We have to congratulate Mr. Edward Thomas and the other contributors to this important work on the completion of its first volume. It consists of six parts, all of which have appeared, and are to be obtained separately. Part I., by Mr. Thomas, is on the subject of Indian weights, a topic on which he had already enlarged in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, and in which he is thoroughly at home. Part II., on the coins of the Urtuki Turkomans, is by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, whose paper on some of the coins of this series will be remembered by our readers. Part III. is on the coinage of Lydia and Persia from the earliest times to the fall of the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, and will be found of great interest to all numismatists, whether Orientalists or not. There is little doubt that the Lydian coinage commenced early in the seventh century B.C., so that Gyges and Ardys may almost dispute the claims of Pheidon, the Argive, as originator of the art of coining. We notice that Mr. Barclay V. Head, the author of this

part, attributes the institution of a mint in the Island of Ægina by Pheidon, to an epoch some time before the middle of the seventh century, an opinion now generally accepted in Germany (*vide* Curtius' "Griech. Gesch."), though the date usually assigned to Pheidon is about the middle of the eighth century B.C.

Part IV., on the coins of the Túlúni Dynasty, which reigned in Europe during the ninth century after Christ, is from the pen of Mr. E. T. Rogers, who has also been a frequent contributor to our pages. Another of our contributors, Mr. Percy Gardner, is the author of Part V., which gives an account of the Parthian coinage from the time of Assaces I. to that of Artavasdes. The contrast of the autotype plates which illustrate this part with those published by the late Mr. Lindsay, now twenty-five years ago, is striking; and in all probability there is an almost equal superiority in the general classification of these difficult coins, which is borne out by a consideration of the sources from which the successive Parthian rulers derived their titles. We think, however, that in an English essay on the Parthian coinage, the work of Mr. Lindsay ought not to be passed over in absolute silence.

Part VI. of the volume is more thoroughly Oriental in its character, and consists of essays on the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon, and on the Ceylon date of the Buddha's death, by Mr. J. W. Rhys Davids. This part is also illustrated by an autotype plate of Cingalese coins, including a specimen of the so-called fish-hook money. Altogether the volume consists of nearly three hundred and fifty quarto pages, twenty plates, and a map, and fully bears out the expectations which were formed of its probable value and importance. We are sorry to dismiss it with so short and insufficient a notice, but the volume speaks for itself, and requires no commendation on our part. It is likely to be followed by others of equal merit, some fourteen or fifteen subjects having been already undertaken by various contributors, among whom are Dr. Julius Euting, Mr. F. W. Madden, General A. Cunningham, M. F. de Saulcy, Sir Walter Elliot, Sir Arthur Phayre, and other well-known numismatists and Oriental scholars.

J. E.

Das Königliche Münzkabinet. Von Dr. Julius Friedlaender und Dr. Alfred von Sallet. Second enlarged edition, Berlin, 1877. 8vo, 336 pages and 11 Plates.

This handbook to the Royal Cabinet of Coins at Berlin consists of two parts: first, a history of the origin and development of the collection, and second, a descriptive catalogue of about

one thousand three hundred coins of various periods, which are exhibited to view in the show-cases of the Medal-room. The history of the collection traces it from the time of George William, Elector of Brandenburg, who, in 1616, possessed rather more than three hundred Roman coins, down to the present day, when it numbers in all 87,146 pieces; and, whatever may be said of its Roman series of 31,595 coins, its Greek series of 55,474 ranks only below those of London and Paris —if, indeed, in some departments, it is not superior to them. Among the acquisitions of late years which have raised the cabinet to its present position may be mentioned the collection of General Fox and Colonel Guthrie, as well as those of Von Prokesch-Osten and Tyskiewicz. Nor are the records of those under whose successive charge the cabinet has grown by any means devoid of interest. What Spanheim bought for it Beger arranged, while later on the names of Stosch and Sestini, and later still those of Pinder, Friedlaender and Von Sallet are known to all numismatists.

The coins exhibited are arranged geographically, but also chronologically, so as to illustrate the rise and progress of the art of coining. Among them such rarities as the decadrachm of Athens, the tetradrachm of Areus of Sparta, the quadruple gold stater of Tyre, the aureus of Mark Antony and his son, may just be mentioned. The art of mediæval and later times is illustrated by numerous coins and medals selected either for their beauty or interest. Altogether, such an exhibition, accompanied by such a handbook, seems admirably calculated to promote a taste for numismatic studies, and cannot but lead to good results. For those who are unable to visit the collection, the plates and woodcuts will give a good idea of the artistic merits of the coins themselves. We have rarely seen better illustrations than the former, which are drawn and engraved by Carl Leonhard Becker, whose well-directed talent excels even that of his notorious namesake in copying the antique.

J. E.

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THE END.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1876—77.

OCTOBER 19, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

John Harris Gibson, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Smithsonian Reports for 1855, 1859, 1862, 1863, 1866, 1874; also the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vol. iii., iv., and viii.—xii. From the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Annual Report of the Director of the U.S. Mint for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875. From the Director.

3. A Notice of Recent Researches on Sound, by W. B. Taylor, reprinted from the American Journal of Science and Arts, 1876. From the Author.

4. American Independence, Letters and Documents, &c., compiled by J. Colburn, Boston, 1876. From the Compiler.

5. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. ii., 2nd Series. Nos. 4, 5, 6. Transactions of the same. Vol. xxvi., Parts I.—V., Jan.—June, 1876. From the Academy.

6. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. x. From the Kent Archæological Society.

7. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg. Vol. viii. From the Institute.

8. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London. 2nd Series, vol. vi. Nos. 5 and 8. From the Society.

9. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2me trimestre de 1876. From the Society.

10. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. v., No. 1, 1876. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

11. The Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band iii., Heft 4; Band iv., Heft 1—2. Berlin, 1876. From the Editor.

12. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1876. 3me & 4me livraisons. From the Society.

13. Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S. From the Author.

14. Catalogue of a Series of Coins and Medals from the Cabinet of Thos. Coats, Esq. By E. Burns, Esq. From the Author.

15. Die Paul Henckel'sche Sammlung, Brandenburg—Preussischer Münzen und Medaillen. By A. Weyl. From the Author.

16. Observations sur un Didrachme inédit de la ville de Ciérium en Thessalie. By H. Ferdinand Bompois. From the Author.

17. Curiosités numismatiques. Monnaies rares ou inedites. 22me article. By R. M. Chalon. From the Author.

18. Description des Monnaies du Moyen-age de Christian Jürgensen Thomsen. Tome III. Copenhagen, 1876. From the Writer.

19. A Guide to the Royal Architectural Museum. By Sir G. Scott, R.A. From the Writer.

20. Ἀνέκδοτα νομίσματα κοπέντα ἐν Γλαρέντσᾳ. By K. Paul Lambros. Athens, 1876. From the Author.

21. Ἀνέκδοτα νομίσματα τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Κύπρου. By K. Paul Lambros. Athens, 1876. From the Author.

22. Monnaies inédites d'Antioche et de Tripoli. By M. Paul Lambros. Le Mans, 1876. From the Author.

23. The Abbé Cochet, F.S.A. By C. R. Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

Mr. T. Jones exhibited a collection of coins of Tarentum, Thurium, Syracuse, &c.

Dr. A. Smith exhibited a medal of the son of Napoleon I., executed by the late Mr. Leonard Wyon, at the age of sixteen.

Mr. G. H. Vize, in illustration of Prince Ghica's article, in the last number of the "Num. Chron.," laid upon the table dies used for striking the silver medal of Michael V., surnamed "the Brave," Prince of Wallachia, 1593—1601. This rare medal is engraved in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Vienna, vol. iv., Pl. III. Fig. 8. Only two specimens are known, one of which is in the Vienna Museum, the other in the cabinet of M. Demetrius Sturdza, of Bucharest.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper "On the Coins of the Cities on the West Coast of the Euxine, Tomi, Odessus, and Anchialus, &c." See "Num. Chron.," vol. xvi. p. 307.

Papers were also communicated by Dr. A. Smith, "On the Irish Coins of Henry the Eighth," and by Mr. R. W. C. Patrick, the latter entitled "Contributions towards a Metallic History of Scotland." See "Num. Chron.," vol. xvii. p. 57.

NOVEMBER 16, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Messrs. T. B. Barrett, J. Gray, W. E. Hayns, H. Hoffmann, H. H. Kitchener, J. J. Mason, and J. D. Robertson were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Records of the Coinage of Scotland. By R. W. Cochran-Patrick, F.S.A.Scot. From the Author.

2. Examen chronologique des Monnaies frappées par la communauté des Macédoniens. By H. Ferdinand Bompois. From the Author.

3. Statère d'Or inédit du Chersonèse taurique avec le nom d'un Roi scythe Hégétouamaros ou Hégétouagaros. Par M. Georges d'Alexéieff. From the Author.

4. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. v., No. 2. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

5. The American Journal of Numismatics. No. 74. From the Society.

6. Discours du Président de la Société Royale de Numismatique de Bruxelles. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited a bronze medallion of the Empress Lucilla; also an electrotype of a unique Jewish shekel, bearing the date Year 5, no other coin of this date having previously come to light. This interesting coin was one of the large find of shekels discovered near Jerusalem in the winter of 1873-4. The original specimen weighs 219 grs. It has lately passed into the cabinet of the Rev. S. S. Lewis. See "Num. Chron.," vol. xvi. p. 322.

Mr. P. Gardner exhibited a cast of an iron coin of Hermæus, the last king of Bactria, found in one of the ruined cities of Turkestan.

Mr. T. J. Arnold exhibited a gold ornament or fastening, of the class generally known as Irish ring-money; also a gold coin of the Emperor Frederic IV. of Germany, struck at Dortmund.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited a medal of Prince von Bismarck; also specimens of the new coinage of Hamburg and Denmark.

Mr. Pearson exhibited a set of dies of doubtful authenticity for Transylvanian and Wallachian coins of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

Mr. Barclay Head read a paper communicated by the Baron

B. de Kochne, of St. Petersburg, "On the Drachms of Aristarchos, Dynast of Colchis, *circ.* B.C. 63-47." See "Num. Chron.," vol. xvii. p. 1.

DECEMBER 21, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft 57 and 58. From the Society.

2. Die Mittelalterliche Kunst in Soest. By J. Aldenkirchen. From the same.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. April—June, 1876. From the Society.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3me trimestre de 1876. From the Society.

5. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. iv., Nos. 25 and 26. From the Association.

6. The tenth annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1875-6. From the Warden of the Standards.

7. Dissertation sur une Monnaie inédite d'un Roi inconnu du Bosphore cimmérien Inéèus. By M. G. d'Alexéieff. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited a drawing of an unpublished penny of Archbishop Aethilheard, lately found near St. Edmund's Chapel, Rochester Cathedral. *Obv.*— + ΛEDILHEΛRD ΛR. In inner circle $\overline{\text{EP}}$. *Rev.*— + DO ENVL FRE Ω (below the D), a double tribrach. It is in bad condition, and some of the letters are doubtful.

Mr. C. R. Smith sent for exhibition two ancient British copper coins, found at Springhead, Kent. The one, with an

animal like a bear on the obverse, and a horse to the left on the reverse; the other, a variety of Evans, Pl. G, No. 7.

Mr. A. H. Pearson exhibited a silver piece of fifty reals of Philip IV. of Spain; a siege piece of Cartagena, 1873; and a coin of Don Carlos, 1875.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited six specimens of rare coins of William III., Anne, George I., George II., and Victoria.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper "On a recent Find of Electrum Staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus," which is printed in vol. xvi. p. 277.

JANUARY 18, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

G. D. Brown, Esq., F. G. Lawrence, Esq., J. Lord, Esq., and M. C. Sykes, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band iv., Heft 3. From the Editor.

2. The Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1877. Liv. 1. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited an aureus of the Emperor Trajan, with, on the reverse, DIVVS PATER TRAIANVS, and a portrait of the father of the Emperor.

Mr. Pearson exhibited a third brass coin of Constantius II.: *Obverse*, his bust to the left in paludamentum; *Reverse*, CONSTANTIVS CAESAR SMNE.

Mr. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, communicated a paper on the coins of the Satraps of Caria. See vol. xvii. p. 81.

FEBRUARY 15, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Special Report on Public Libraries in the United States of America, Parts I. and II. From the United States Commissioner of Education.

2. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Tillaeg to the volume for 1874. Parts I.—IV., 1875; and Parts I. and II., 1876. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

3. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. v., No. 3. From the Numismatic Society of Montreal.

4. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. ix., Part I. From the Society.

5. Eight papers on Irish Coins. By Dr. Aquilla Smith. Published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. From the Author.

6. The Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. iv., 4th Series, No. 27. From the Association.

7. Batty's Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, &c. Part XI. From the Compiler.

Mr. Vaux exhibited a gold coin of Diodotus, King of Bactriana.

Mr. Nock exhibited two milled half-crowns of Charles II., dated 1673, with a plume under the king's bust, one of them also with a plume in the centre of the reverse; both pieces of extreme rarity, that with the plume on the reverse probably unique.

Mr. F. W. Madden communicated the first portion of a paper "On Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine the Great, his Family, and his Successors." See vol. xvii. p. 242.

Mr. C. F. Keary read the first of a series of papers "On the Numismatics of the Transition Era from the Fall of the Western

Empire to the Crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor, A.D. 800." Mr. Keary began by discussing the condition of the coinage in Europe about the time of the accession of Honorius, and, from an examination of the laws, national poetry, &c., of the various Teutonic peoples, showed what were the substitutes for a coinage among them. Proceeding to the era of the barbarian invasions, the writer was of opinion that a large proportion of the coinage in each invaded territory, becoming diverted from its proper uses, was employed only to pay taxes or tributes to the German conquerors, and was by them frequently converted into bullion or ornaments. Gold being the metal especially prized, Mr. Keary contended that the chief use of a gold coinage now became the paying of these taxes, while the money in the baser metals alone remained current among the earlier inhabitants. He next examined the earliest coinages of the various barbarian invaders, Burgundians, Visigoths, Vandals, &c., consisting of mere barbarous imitations of the Imperial coins, especially of the aurei.

MARCH 15, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. An Account of certain Scotch Coins and Counterfeits found in Ireland. By Aquilla Smith, M.D. From the Author.

2. Essays in Oriental Numismatics. 2nd Series. By Stanley Lane Poole. From the Author.

3. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1st and 2nd trimestre of 1873. From the Society.

4. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Part II., 1876. Vienna, 1877. From the Society.

5. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. iv., No. 28. From the Association.

Lord Selborne communicated a paper on a large Find of Roman coins in Blackmoor Park, in the parish of Selborne, in 1873. See vol. xvii. p. 90.

The President, in returning thanks to Lord Selborne for communicating the results of his examination of this important hoard of coins to the Numismatic Society, alluded to another more recent discovery, in the Roman Wall, of a military chest, containing many thousand coins, which are now in the hands of Mr. J. Clayton, of Chesters, Northumberland, and expressed a hope that the owner would also shortly communicate to the Numismatic Society a detailed account of the contents of the chest.

APRIL 19, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Miss C. C. Ireland was duly elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. v., No. 4. From the Numismatic Society of Montreal.

2. The Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band iv., Heft 4. From the Editor.

3. Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg. Année 1876, xxxi. (ix.). From the Institute.

4. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1877. 2me liv. From the Society.

5. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Tome xxxix., Année 1875. From the Society.

6. Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Bulletin historique. 25me Année, 99e livr., 1876. From the Society.

7. Mémoires of the same. Tome xv., 1874—1876. From the same.

8. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord. N.S., 1875-6. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

9. Tillaeg til Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1874 and 1875. From the same.

10. Nachtrag zur Paul Henckel'schen Sammlung, Brandenburg—Preussischer Münzen und Medaillen bearbeitet von Adolph Weyl. Berlin, 1877. From R. Frentzel, Esq.

Mr. Evans exhibited a third brass coin of Allectus, found in Kent, having on the obverse, IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG. and a head of the Emperor, and on the reverse, SPES PUBL., Spes walking to the left, in the exergue C, and in the field S. P. Mr. Evans also exhibited a specimen of the REDDITE QUÆ CÆSARIS CÆSARI crowns of Charles II., by Simon.

Mr. R. Hoblyn exhibited a rare shilling of William III., of the year 1700, with a minute plume under the bust.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a curious half-groat of Henry VII., struck at Canterbury, with two reverses.

Mr. R. Hoblyn read a paper, "On the Milled Silver Coins with the Elephant and the Elephant and Castle," of which he exhibited a complete set of eight specimens in all—seven of the reign of Charles II., and one of William III. These coins are said to have been struck from silver imported by the African Company, and, as some think, were intended for circulation in the colonies; hence their rarity, the gold coins with the same mint-marks being of much more frequent occurrence. See vol. xvii. p. 347.

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick communicated an account of three original documents relating to touch-pieces, or coins used at the public ceremony of healing for the king's evil, dated respectively 1611, 1624, and 1667. Mr. Patrick also gave a sketch of the history of the practice of touching for the evil, which, according to William of Malmesbury, existed as early as the time of Edward the Confessor, and which was not finally abandoned until the reign of George I., who, on being applied to by a staunch adherent of the House of Hanover to touch his son, declined to do so, but referred the applicant to the Pretender.

MAY 17, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Messrs. A. E. Copp and T. K. Ford were elected members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Smithsonian Report for 1875. From the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Chr. M. Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum Pars Secunda, adnotationes in varia opera Numismatica continens. St. Petersburg, 1877. From the Editor.

3. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Tome i., série ii., 1re trimestre de 1877. From the Society.

4. Royal Architectural Museum. Catalogue of Collection, 1877, with Guide to the Museum. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited a rare coin of Maximinus Daza, struck in memory of Maximian; also an extremely rare silver coin of Carausius, with the legend EXPECTATE VENI.

Mr. Vaux exhibited two gold coins of Kashghar, issued by the ruler of that place in 1873-4, with the name of Abd-al-Aziz, referring to the late Sultan of Turkey, and in recognition of his position as suzerain.

Mr. H. S. Gill read a paper, "On Seventeenth Century Somersetshire Tokens not described in Boyne's Work."

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick communicated some further notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland, comprising descriptions of several rare and hitherto unattributed medals.

Mr. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, communicated a paper entitled "Observations on Phœnician Coins." Printed in vol. xvii. p. 177.

JUNE 21, 1877.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows :—

Gentlemen,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce their loss by death of the following Members :—

T. J. Arnold, Esq., F.S.A.,
James Wingate, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.,

and of our foreign Member, the Count von Prokesch-Osten ; and, by resignation, of—

Mark F. Wilson, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the fifteen following Members :—

T. B. Barrett, Esq.
G. D. Brown, Esq.
A. E. Copp, Esq.
T. K. Ford, Esq.
J. H. Gibson, Esq.
J. Gray, Esq.
W. E. Hayns, Esq.
Mons. H. Hoffmann.
Miss C. C. Ireland.
H. H. Kitchener, Esq., R.E.
F. G. Lawrence, Esq.
J. Lord, Esq.
J. J. Mason, Esq.
J. D. Robertson, Esq.
M. C. Sykes, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1876 . . .	161	37	198
Since elected	15	—	15
	176	37	213
Deceased	2	1	3
Resigned	1	—	1
Erased	—	—	—
Members, June, 1877 . . .	173	36	209

We proceed to give a brief notice of our deceased Members :—

The late Thomas James Arnold, Esq., F.A.S., &c., senior magistrate of the metropolitan police, who died on the 20th May, at his residence in Greville Place, Kilburn Priory, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, was the eldest son of the late Samuel James Arnold, Esq., a magistrate for Middlesex and Westminster, by Matilda Caroline, daughter of the late Henry James Pye, Esq., M.P., poet laureate, of Faringdon House, Berks, and grandson of Dr. Samuel Arnold, the celebrated musician. He was born in Downing Street in the year 1803, and was educated at St. Paul's School and at the University of Göttingen. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in Michaelmas Term, 1829, and went the Northern Circuit, practising as a special pleader at the Liverpool Sessions, &c., until appointed by Lord Brougham a Commissioner of Bankruptcy at Liverpool. Owing to the changes which took place in the Court of Bankruptcy, Mr. Arnold returned to London, and again practised at the Bar and worked in the chambers of the then Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Wilde, until the promotion of the latter to the woolsack. He reported for the Common Pleas in conjunction with the late J. Gale, Esq., and afterwards by himself alone. For many years he was Revising Barrister for, we believe, the City of London, from which he retired in 1847, when he was appointed metropolitan police magistrate at Worship Street, and, in 1851, was removed to Westminster. Mr. Arnold was considered a thorough lawyer, and we believe we are correct in stating that no decision of his during the thirty years he sat on the bench has ever been reversed. On the death of the late Sir Thomas Henry, Mr. Arnold applied to the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the vacant appointment of chief magistrate, grounding his claim on his being senior metropolitan magistrate, both in age and office, but received no reply to his application beyond its formal acknowledgment. Mr.

Arnold was the author of many legal works of standard merit, among others, "Municipal Corporations," "Justices of the Peace out of Session," "Labour Laws," and joined the late Mr. Phillips in bringing out the second edition of his valuable work on Evidence. Irrespective of his merits as a lawyer, it may be added that the late Mr. Arnold was an accomplished scholar. He was able to write fluently both Greek and Latin, and was master of several modern languages. His publications were numerous. Among those which rank the highest as literary productions may be mentioned his translations of Anacreon, of Schiller's "Song of the Bell," and of Goethe's version of "Reynard the Fox." At the time of his death he had just completed a translation of "Faust" in the original metre, which will shortly be published in a folio edition with illustrations by Leitzer Mayer.

Mr. Arnold's numismatic and antiquarian taste and knowledge were great. He became a member of this Society in 1862, and was a frequent attendant at our meetings, and for several years sat at our council table. His communications to the "Numismatic Chronicle" touched upon various branches of our science. The first was an interesting essay on the forgeries of Becker (vol. iii., N.S., 246), which was followed by notes on the VOCE POPULI halfpence and a paper on the coin of Knosos with the legend ΠΟΛΧΟΣ (N.S., vol. x. p. 11). These were followed by notes on the St. Bartholomew Medal with VGONOTTORVM STRAGES, and on the French medals struck on the intended invasion of England by Napoleon I. (vol. xii., N.S., pp. 216 and 266). In 1873 he communicated to us a review of Mr. Paul Lampros' Greek work on the coins of the Island of Amorgos, and a paper on a coin of Antoninus Pius, in which he entered on the difficult question of the VOTA DECENNALIA (vol. xiii., N.S., pp. 125 and 130). The last communication he made to the Society was dated November, 1876, and related to a medal of the Order of La Mouche à Miel, an interpretation of the legend on which he had been seeking since 1868.

Mr. Arnold was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1869, and from time to time exhibited a number of objects of interest to that society. He was also an occasional exhibitor at our meetings, where his courteous and genial manner was such that it will long be remembered by those who were brought in contact with him.

Mr. Arnold married, firstly, Emily Frances, only daughter of the late Francis Coust, Esq., Chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, and secondly, in 1867, Prudentia Sarah Jefferson, only child of the late Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Esq., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, of Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees, Durham, who survives him. The remains of the deceased gentleman were interred in Kensal Green Cemetery.

The death of Mr. James Wingate, F.S.A.Scot.,[1] at the comparatively early age of fifty, took place on the 20th May, 1877. Well known as a marine insurance broker, of the firm of Messrs. Wingate, Birrell & Co., of Glasgow, he was in his counting-house, at the helm of affairs, on Wednesday, 16th May, and on the following Sunday morning he expired at his residence of Linnhouse, Hamilton, cut down by an acute attack of pleurisy.

Mr. Wingate was a man of singularly generous impulse, and in all his dealings guided by a sense of honour almost chivalrous in its integrity. Though these and other kindly features in his character will not readily be forgotten by any of his acquaintances, it is chiefly as the man of science that his name will be remembered beyond the circle of immediate friendship, associated as it must ever be with the numismatic history of his native country. The scientific bent of his mind evinced itself in his earlier years by researches into both the entomological and conchological fauna of the West of Scotland, his collections in both of which departments he presented ten years

[1] For this notice we are indebted to Mr. J. Gray, of Glasgow.

ago to the Andersonian Museum. In his maturer years he engaged with characteristic enthusiasm in forming a collection of Scottish coins, and with what magnificent results his "Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland," published in 1868, abundantly shows. During these halcyon years—a period, as he used to remark, the happiest of his life—he had the good fortune to witness the dispersion of some of the finest existing cabinets of Scottish coins, including that of Mr. Lindsay, whose work on the subject had rescued the study from the neglect into which it had fallen ever since the days of old Cardonnel. Of these advantages Mr. Wingate was not slow in availing himself, and no expense was spared to secure examples necessary towards making his collection not only the most complete, but the best as to the quality of the specimens in existence. No sooner, however, had he attained to the position of possessor of the finest cabinet of Scottish coins, and had published the results to the numismatic world in his beautiful volume above mentioned, than he resolved to part with it;—the purpose he had in view in forming it had been attained, and the pleasure in so doing was over. The collection was accordingly advertised for sale and dispersed by public auction in November, 1875, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, in their rooms, Wellington Street, Strand, London, the sale occupying three days.

To Mr. Wingate the dispersion of his collection was a source of unalloyed pleasure. He felt it had served its day in his hands, and, as he used to remark, was now doing a similar service to others. Along with it, but all too soon, the active mind which formed it has gone from our midst, and the busy hands are at rest.

Count Anton von Prokesch-Osten was born at Gratz, in Styria, on the 10th December, 1795, and died at Vienna on the 26th October, 1876. Commencing his career in the Austrian army, he served through the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, and subsequently became aide-de-camp to Prince

Schwartzenburg, of whose life he published a memoir. As a member of the staff he was attached to the Austrian navy, and being sent on active service to the Mediterranean and the Levant, he distinguished himself as a soldier, a sailor, and a diplomatist. In 1831 he served with the Imperial army in Italy, but from that time forward he was attached to the diplomatic service. For many years ambassador at the Court of Athens, he was subsequently removed to Berlin, but from 1855 to 1872 he was the Austrian Resident at Constantinople.

It was during his travels and subsequent residence in Greece that he appears first to have become devoted to numismatic studies, and to have imbibed that intense love for the Greek coinage which never left him. For Roman and colonial coins he had no affection, but the collection of Greek coins which he was enabled to form, especially as regards the Athenian series, the coins of Alexander the Great, and of the Arsacidæ, was, perhaps, unrivalled. From the year 1843 downwards, his papers in different archæological and numismatic periodicals followed in quick succession. Most of these contained notices of hitherto unpublished coins in his own collection, and deservedly attracted the attention of numismatists. His principal work, however, is that on the chronology of the Syrian and Parthian kings, published shortly before his death. After his retirement to his native town of Gratz in 1872, he devoted himself almost exclusively to archæological and numismatic pursuits, and for some years had been engaged on a catalogue of his noble collection, which, unfortunately, he did not live to complete. The portion relating to the Parthian coins appeared, however, in the work already mentioned, and in the words of one of his many admirers,[2] "that alone and by itself is sufficient to insure him a lasting reputation among the votaries of archæological science."

His collection, consisting of nearly 11,000 coins, has now found a resting-place in the Berlin Museum.

[2] *Times*, November 7, 1876.

The President then delivered the following address:—

Gentlemen,—It has not been the custom for the President of this Society to attempt to give an anniversary address such as is usually given to some of the other learned societies; and, indeed, there would be some difficulty in enforcing such a custom. The Report of the Council usually embraces all matters of immediate interest to the Society, and gives obituary notices of the members whom we have lost each year by death; and there remains but little for a President to comment upon, unless he were to take up some special subject on which to make remarks; and this I incline to think would be better done by communicating a paper in the ordinary manner to the Society, always assuming that the subject was forthcoming, and that the President was able and willing to make the remarks, neither of which conditions is in existence on the present occasion.

Still, I may venture to supplement the Report of the Council by a few words on the communications made to the Society during the past year, whether at our meetings or through the pages of the "Numismatic Chronicle." It would be invidious to select any of these, either for special commendation or for critical review, but I think that the Society may well be congratulated on the general character and importance of the papers of the last year. In ancient numismatics we have had a careful account of the large hoard of electrum staters from Smyrna, furnished to us by our excellent secretary, Mr. Head—a hoard which not only exhibits a remarkable series of early types connected with the religious worship and beliefs of the early occupants of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, but which may assist in determining the date of the issue of the Cyzicene staters, which Mr. Head finds reason for assigning to an earlier period than does M. Charles Lenormant.

The papers by Mr. Percy Gardner "On the Date of King Mostis, and of certain later Coins of Thasos," and "On a Monetary League on the Euxine Sea," will both be recognised as of

value and importance by those who are engaged in the study of the Greek and Greek Imperial series. The discovery of marks significant of value on coins of a certain district struck during the period from Severus Alexander to Philip the Younger, may assist in elucidating the meaning of some of those letters on the field of Imperial coins of other districts and somewhat different periods, which at present are involved in mystery.

It is satisfactory to find that numismatists of other countries find the pages of our journal the most fitting medium for making public the results of their researches, and that during the present year we have been favoured with a valuable paper on the Coins of the Satraps of Caria from the pen of our honorary member, M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam; while the Baron de Koehne has given us a paper on the Drachmas of Aristarchos, Dynast of Colchis.

In Jewish numismatics Mr. Madden has completed the series of important papers which he destined to form a supplement to his standard work on the Jewish coinage. Mr. Reichardt has communicated some strictures on the Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte of M. de Saulcy; and the Rev. S. S. Lewis has favoured us with a notice of his as yet unique skekel of the year 5.

Turning from Jewish to Christian numismatics, Mr. Madden has commenced a series of papers on Christian Emblems on coins of the Constantine family, which promise to be of much interest.

The only other important paper on the Roman series which has been received during the past year is that by Lord Selborne, on the great hoard of nearly thirty thousand coins found upon his estate in Hants. The vast number of the coins comprised in this find must have rendered the task of their arrangement and determination one of no ordinary difficulty and labour, and that it should have been undertaken and so successfully carried out by one with so many other calls upon his time as Lord Selborne, may well be a matter of surprise. It is, however, rather a matter of congratulation to our Society that those qualities of application and acumen which raised Lord Selborne to the

woolsack, should also have become available for numismatic purposes, and that the coins belonged to a period which his great classical acquirements have fitted him so well to illustrate.

Among the Blackmoor coins are many of those struck in this country by the British usurpers Carausius and Allectus, which have always had a special interest for English numismatists. Our coinage of a later period has been illustrated by an important paper by Mr. Ernest Willett, giving the details of nearly three thousand Saxon coins, principally of Edward the Confessor, forming part of a large hoard believed to have been discovered in the City of London. This hoard, in conjunction with that found at Chancton a few years ago, has materially enlarged our knowledge of the English mints and moneyers during the eleventh century. I much regret that numerous other avocations have prevented me from publishing a list of that portion of the City hoard which has fallen into my hands. I may, however, say that there are but few pieces in it which have not already been described by Mr. Willett.

With regard to the later English coinage, Mr. Hoblyn has communicated to us papers on some of the rarer coins of the milled series; while Mr. Gill has supplemented the list of the Somersetshire tokens of the seventeenth century, adding numerous pieces to those already described by Boyne. Although, perhaps, of not great general interest, the series of early tradesmen's tokens is of much value to the local antiquary, and occasionally throw considerable light on the habits and customs of the time when they were issued.

In illustration of the Scottish series, Mr. Cochran-Patrick has commenced in the pages of the Chronicle a series of "Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland," which promises to convey a large amount of additional information to what we already possess as to the various medals struck in that part of the United Kingdom.

From this brief review it will be seen that, during the past year, our Society has done good work, and its members have,

through our journal, added materially to the general stock of numismatic knowledge.

But, in addition to what has appeared in the "Numismatic Chronicle," there are two important works by members of our Society which have appeared during the past year, and without a mention of which any summary of numismatic progress would be incomplete. One of these is the new edition of the "Silver Coins of England" of Mr. Hawkins, which has been prepared by his grandson, Mr. Kenyon, and in which a great amount of additional matter is given, embodying all the discoveries of new types and new attributions which have been made in the thirty-six years since the first edition was printed. It must be a source of satisfaction to the members of this Society to read the handsome acknowledgment of Mr. Kenyon, in his preface, that it is impossible to exaggerate his obligations to the "Numismatic Chronicle," without which half the additional information inserted in his volume would have been unattainable.

The other work which I have to mention is the "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," by Mr. Cochran-Patrick, the two handsome volumes of which constitute one of the most magnificent numismatic works which have ever appeared from the press. They convey an amount of detailed information with regard to the coinage of Scotland and the annals of its mints which will leave little for the future historian to add. It is to be hoped that when a new edition of Ruding's "Annals of the English Coinage" is called for, that work may meet with as comprehensive treatment, and be provided with as full an array of the records of the English mints as those bestowed on the sister country by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.

The publication of two such works during the past year is at all events a sign that an intelligent appreciation of the value of numismatic studies still survives in this country, and augurs well for the future of this Society. May its activity still increase, and may it long continue to prosper.

The Treasurer's Report is as appended:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1876, to June, 1877.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part 61	33	2	6
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 62	35	1	8
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 63	36	18	2
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 64	58	19	3
„ The Autotype Company	25	16	6
„ Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving	10	10	0
„ Messrs. Davy and Son, for Printing	4	17	8
„ Mr. J. Ayres, for Coffee and sundry expenses	4	10	10
„ ditto Rent to Christmas	20	0	0
„ ditto for Attendance	5	0	0
„ Fire Insurance on £500	0	15	0
„ Mr. Head, for Postages, &c.	2	10	0
„ Collector, for Commission and Postage	8	9	0
„ Treasurer, for Stamps and Postage	0	12	0
„ Balance	110	11	10
	£357	14	5

	£	s.	d
By Balance from last Statement	100	12	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	147	0	0
„ Entrance Fees	9	19	6
„ Life Subscriptions	40	19	0
„ Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	47	14	8
„ Mr. Robert Blair for ditto	4	18	3
„ Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent for copies of Mr. Head's "Coinage of Syracuse"	6	8	0
„ Remittance for Postage	0	3	0
	£357	14	5
By Balance in hand	£110	11	10

J. FREDERICK NECK, HON. TREASURER.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

S. BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A.
W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S.

Treasurer.

J. F. NECK, ESQ.

Secretaries.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ.
BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ.

Foreign Secretary.

PERCY GARDNER, ESQ., M.A.

Librarian.

W. BLADES, ESQ.

Members of the Council.

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RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.
RICHARD HOBLYN, ESQ.
THOMAS JONES, ESQ.
CHARLES F. KEARY, ESQ., M.A.
R. L. KENYON, ESQ., M.A.
J. H. MIDDLETON, ESQ., M.A.
STANLEY LANE POOLE, ESQ.
R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, ESQ., F.S.A.Scot.
EDWARD THOMAS, ESQ., F.R.S.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON.

DECEMBER, 1877.

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OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution.

*Alexéieff, M. George de, The Friars, Aylesford.

*Babington, Rev. Prof. Churchill, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.

Baker, W. R., Esq., Bayfordbury, Hertford.

Barrett, T. B., Esq., Welsh Pool, Montgomeryshire.

Bayley, E. Clive, Esq., H.E.I.C.S., India.

Birch, Samuel, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.

Blades, William, Esq., 11, Abchurch Lane, *Librarian.*

Brandt, R. F. W., Esq., 8, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park.

Blair, Robert, Esq., 84, King Street, South Shields.

Bridges, G. H. N., Esq., 30, Denmark Hill, S.E.

*Briggs, Arthur, Esq., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.

Brown, G. D., Esq., Fairmill, Henley-on-Thames.

Bunbury, Edward H., Esq., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.

Burns, Edward, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 3, London Street, Edinburgh.

Bush, Colonel Tobin, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de l'Orangerie, Le Hâvre.

Butler, Charles, Esq., Warren Wood, Hatfield.

Butler, John, Esq., Park View, Bolton.

Calvert, Rev. Thos., 92, Lansdowne Place, Brighton.

Camerino, Carlos, Esq.

Carfrae, Robert, Esq., 77, George Street, Edinburgh.

Cave, Laurence Trent, Esq., 75, Chester Square.

Chambers, Montague, Esq., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.

Coats, Thos., Esq., Ferguslie, Paisley, North Britain.

Cockburn, John, Esq., 28, George Street, Richmond.

*Copp, A. E., Esq., 2, Myrtle Villas, Thornton Hill, Wimbledon.

*Cornthwaite, Rev. Tullie, M.A., Forest, Walthamstow.

Creeke, Major Anthony Buck, Monkholme, Burnley.

*Croÿ, Prince Alfred Emmanuel de, Château du Rœulx, Hainaut, Belgium.

Cuming, H. Syer, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., 63, Kennington Park Road.

Cummings, Rev. A. H., Gunwalloe Vicarage, Helston, Cornwall.

Cunningham, Major-General A., H. S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.

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DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

EADES, GEORGE, ESQ., Evesham, Worcestershire.
ENNISKILLEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S., M.R.I.A., Florence Court, Enniskillen, Ireland, *Vice-President.*
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EVANS, JOHN, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead; and 65, Old Bailey, *President.*
EVANS, SEBASTIAN, ESQ., LL.D., Highgate, Birmingham.

FEUARDENT, GASTON, ESQ., 61, Great Russell Street.
FONROBERT, JULES, ESQ., 103, Leipziger Street, Berlin.
FORD, T. K., ESQ., 12, Portland Terrace, Southsea.
FOSTER, JAMES MURRAY, ESQ., F.R.C.P.E., Collumpton, Devon.
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GRUEBER, HERBERT A., ESQ., British Museum.
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HALL, ROBERT, ESQ., Laurel Villa, Carshalton Grove, Sutton, Surrey.
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HAYNS, W. E., ESQ., 2, Great George Street, Westminster.
HEAD, BARCLAY VINCENT, ESQ., British Museum, *Secretary.*
HENFREY, HENRY WM., ESQ., 20, Pembroke Road, Kensington, W.
HEWARD, PETER, ESQ., 2, Charnwood Villa, Caroline Street, Llandudno.
HOBLYN, RICHARD, ESQ., 2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park.
HODGKIN, T., ESQ., Benwelldene, Newcastle.
*HOFFMANN, MONSIEUR H., 33, Quai Voltaire, Paris.
HOLT, H. FRED. WILLIAM, ESQ., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Tamsay, Formosa.
HUCKIN, REV. H. R., D.D., Repton, Derbyshire.
HUNT, J. MORTIMER, ESQ., 156, New Bond Street.
HYDE, COLONEL, India Office, Westminster, S.W.

IRELAND, MISS C. C., Sandford Place, Cheltenham.

JAMES, J. HENRY, ESQ., Kingswood, Watford.
JENNINGS, ROBERT, ESQ., 23, East Park Terrace, Southampton.
JONES, JAMES COVE, ESQ., F.S.A., Loxley, Wellesbourne, Warwick.
JONES, THOMAS, ESQ., Llanerchrugog Hall, Wales; and 2, Plowden's Buildings, Temple.
JONES, W. STAVENHAGEN, ESQ., 79, Carlton Hill, N.W.
JUDD, CHARLES, ESQ., Stoneleigh Villas, Chestnut Road, Tottenham.

KAY, HENRY CASSELLS, ESQ., 11, Durham Villas, Kensington, W.
KEARY, CHARLES FRANCIS, ESQ., M.A., British Museum.
KENYON, R. LLOYD, ESQ., M.A., 11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
KITCHENER, H. H., ESQ., R.E., R.A. and R.E. Club, 3, Pall Mall East.
KIRBY, T. B., ESQ., 28, Lower Hastings Street, Leicester.

LAMB, H. W., ESQ., 12, South Place, Finsbury.
*LAMBERT, GEORGE, ESQ., F.S.A., 10, Coventry Street.
LANG, ROBERT HAMILTON, ESQ., H.B.M. Imperial Ottoman Bank, Alexandria.
LAWRENCE, F. G., ESQ., Alpha House, Acton.
LAWSON, ALFRED J., ESQ., Imperial Ottoman Bank, Smyrna.
LEATHER, C. J., ESQ., North Grounds Villa, Portsea, Portsmouth.
LEES, F. J., ESQ., Gothic Cottage, Gothic Road, Twickenham.
*LEWIS, REV. SAMUEL SAVAGE, F.S.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., ESQ., 462, New Oxford Street.
LOEWE, DR. L., M.R.A.S., 1 and 2, Oscar Villas, Broadstairs, Kent.
LONGSTAFFE, W. HYLTON DYER, ESQ., F.S.A., 4, Catherine Terrace, Gateshead.
LORD, J., ESQ., 1, Whitehall Gardens.
LUCAS, JOHN CLAY, ESQ., F.S.A., Lewes, Sussex.

MACLACHLAN, R. W., 20, Victoria Street, Montreal.
MADDEN, FREDERIC WILLIAM, ESQ., M.R.A.S., Hilton Lodge, Sudeley Terrace, Brighton.
MARSDEN, REV. CANON, B.D., Great Oakley Rectory, Harwich, Essex.
MASON, J. J., ESQ., Maryfield Cottage, Kirkcaldy.
MAYER, JOS., ESQ., F.S.A., Pennant House, Bebington, by Birkenhead.
MIDDLETON, SIR GEORGE N. BROKE, BART., C.B., Shrubland Park, and Broke Hall, Suffolk.
MIDDLETON, JOHN H., ESQ., 4, Storey's Gate, St. James's Park.
MILLS, A. DICKSON, ESQ., Brook House, Godalming.
MOORE, GENERAL, Junior U.S. Club.
MOTT, HENRY, ESQ., 594, St. Catherine Street, Montreal. [Box 943]

NECK, J. F., ESQ., 62, St. James Street; and 110, Cannon Street.
NICHOLSON, K. M., ESQ., Oude Commission.
*NUNN, JOHN JOSEPH, ESQ., Downham Market.

*Patrick, Robert W. Cochran, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Beith, Ayrshire.
Pearce, Samuel Salter, Esq., Bingham's Melcombe, Dorchester.
Pearse, Lieut.-Col., R.A., care of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 55, Parliament Street.
Pearson, A. Harford, Esq., 2, Chester Place, Hyde Park Square.
Pearson, William Charles, Esq., 7, Prince's Street; and 33A, Fore Street, E.C.
*Perry, Marten, Esq., M.D., &c., &c., Spalding, Lincolnshire.
Pollexfen, Rev. J. H., M.A., Middleton Tyas, Richmond, Yorkshire.
Poole, Reginald Stuart, Esq., British Museum.
Poole, Stanley E. Lane, Esq., Belgrave Mansions, S.W.
Pownall, Rev. Assheton, M.A., F.S.A., South Kilworth, Rugby.
Price, W. Lake, Esq., South Cliff, Ramsgate.
Priestly, Mrs., 17, Hertford Street, Mayfair.
Pullan, Richard, Esq., M.R.I.B.A., 15, Clifford's Inn.

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